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CAERPHILLY.

FEW castles have received as much attention, or have been so fully and ably described, as the castle of Caerphilly. Those of our members who possess the entire series, may well refer back to the volume of *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1850, and peruse the exhaustive description of the castle and its details, which has recently been incorporated by Mr. Clark in his work on mediæval military architecture; but others, and many of those who visited the castle last year, may still expect in these later days a renewal of the story in the current pages of our *Journal*. So an endeavour will be made in the account which follows, to give a general description of the castle, its position and defences, with the aid of the old plan and wood engravings, and to tell what is known of its history, making a free use of Mr. Clark's materials, but avoiding a repetition of his detailed account of the buildings.

Although Cardiff and the coast-line had been long wrested from Wales by Norman invaders and their successors, much of the land of Morganwg was still debatable land, and liable to continual claims of the princes of Wales as their own by right, and to consequent invasions, until the death of Llewelyn ap Griffith, and the conquest of Wales by King Edward. The commots of Senghenydd, nominally under the rule of

Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, appear in the latter part of the reign of Henry III to have been inhabited as well by adherents of Llewelyn, as by those who acknowledged the Earl as their lord. His predecessor, Richard de Clare, had been Commander-in-Chief of the king's forces in Glamorgan, Pembroke, and other parts of Wales on the occasion of the Welsh insurrection in 1257 (41 Henry III), and probably availed himself of his position to strengthen his power and increase his territory. He died in 1262, and his son, Earl Gilbert, inherited his large possessions in Glamorganshire, including Senghenydd, within which Caerphilly is situated.

On the 19th June 1265 Llewelyn entered into a treaty of peace with the King, and formally acknowledged him as his lord; but the terms of the treaty do not appear to have been long adhered to by Llewelyn, for in the summer of 1270¹ he wrote to the King's brother, Richard, King of the Romans, declining to give up the land which he occupied to the King and Prince Edward, and stated that he had invaded the land as belonging of right to him and his ancestors, under the conviction that Edward was bent on the destruction of himself and of Wales, his country. Continual proposals appear to have been made by the King to Llewelyn to settle any infractions of the treaty of peace, which were as often evaded by Llewelyn's non-attendance or excuse.

Caerphilly, situated in a valley opening eastward to the river Rhymney, from which it was about a mile distant, was a suitable site for a fortification to check the inroads of the Welsh from the mountains of Glamorganshire into the fertile plains in the neighbourhood of Cardiff. The only natural advantage of the site was a swamp, through which a brook, known as Nant y Gledwr, flowed on its course into Rhymney. Of this, Earl Gilbert, a few years after his succession to the earldom, availed himself, by making excavations,

¹ Shirley's *Royal Letters, Henry III*, vol. ii, p. 312.

throwing up earthworks, damming up the brook, and so converting the elevated part of the marsh into an island surrounded by water, as a suitable site for his intended castle. The documentary evidence which establishes the fact that Earl Gilbert was the builder of the castle there, at the same time leads to the conclusion that his first castle was rebuilt, or very much enlarged, before it assumed the proportions or importance of the castle now in ruins.

In the early part of 1271 the King empowered the Bishops of Coventry and Worcester to act with Roger Mortimer and R. de Leyburn as Commissioners in hearing and determining at the ford of Montgomery, in the beginning of February, all causes of complaint between Llewelyn and Earl Gilbert, and all transgressions of Llewelyn against the form of his peace with the King. This arrangement was notified to Llewelyn and the Earl, and they were ordered meanwhile to abstain from hostilities.

Llewelyn, however, disregarding the King's injunction, invaded the Earl's territory in the Marches with banners displayed and a large army, intending to lay siege to the castle of Caerphilly. With a view to prevent further hostilities, Earl Gilbert, at the King's instance, agreed to surrender his castle to the King, pending the settlement of the matters in dispute; and on the 25th October the same Bishops were authorised by the King's letters patent to take the castle into their custody in the King's name, unless Llewelyn withdrew with his army, and named a day for the hearing and determining of his alleged grievances at the ford of Montgomery. The Bishops accordingly went to Caerphilly, and on the 2nd November entered into an agreement with Llewelyn, who was then actively besieging the castle, which is stated to have been lately erected by Earl Gilbert, that the Prince with his army should withdraw from the siege, and allow the Bishops to take possession, in the King's name, of the castle, until the King granted the custody of it to some one

who was entirely unconnected with the Prince or the Earl, the Prince entering into an engagement, pending the settling of the contention relative to the castle, not to wage war against the Earl or his followers, nor to interfere with his men or tenants in going and coming, or carrying on their usual trade or business. In return, the Bishops, in the King's name, promised on the Earl's part to withdraw the garrison from the castle, and that, pending the contention, the Earl would not interfere with the castle by the increase of its ditches, in the repair or rebuilding of its walls, or increasing the fortifications, in addition to its then state, and that its occupants on the King's behalf would, in like manner, abstain from any further works for its defence, and from waging war against the Prince, or preventing his followers carrying on their usual merchandise. It was further arranged that the men of Senghenydd, whether partisans of the Prince or of the Earl, should dwell in the places where they then were. The Bishops also promised that the castle should not pass out of their hands until the determination of the dispute, and appointed a day for the hearing of it.

We obtain further information of what took place on the occasion, and afterwards, from the King's letter to his brother Richard. It appears that Llewelyn claimed the site of the castle as his own, and laid siege to it with a view of totally destroying it; he alleged that he might have accomplished his object on the third day if he had not entered into the treaty with the Bishops that the castle should remain in its then state as regards the walls, ditches, bretashes, provisions, and other matters, until their decision on the hearing. The Bishops received possession of the castle under the Earl's authority from his Constable with much difficulty on Llewelyn's part, and placed their men in it, waiting the arrival of the King's garrison. Soon after the siege was raised, the Earl's Constable of Cardiff Castle, with forty men-at-arms, arrived at Caerphilly. Secretly approaching the castle, he sought admission to search

for and see the arms of the Earl's men. The Bishops, not suspecting anything wrong, permitted the Constable to enter, whereupon he obtained leave that one of his soldiers, who was well acquainted with what was in the castle, and afterwards a third, might be admitted. After a scrutiny of the arms, they returned to the gate and admitted the remainder of the forces into the castle. On their entry, the Constable of Cardiff engaged to hold the castle in the King's name, and the Bishops, unable to contend with the difficulty, gave up to him the custody of the castle.

Llewelyn complained of this infraction of the agreement to the King, who, on the 22nd February 1272, wrote to him in answer that the Earl justified his resumption of possession of the castle, on the ground that the Bishops had no authority to enter into such a treaty without the Earl's assent, and asked that some of the King's soldiers should form its garrison, and hold it until Easter, when Commissioners to be appointed might do full justice as to the matter in dispute; to this the King had assented, and he summoned Llewelyn to attend the hearing accordingly. An adjournment again took place; ultimately, on the 30th October 1272, at the instance of Anian, Bishop of St. Asaph, the King, who was about to proceed to France to do homage for his Duchy of Aquitaine and lands in that kingdom, informed Llewelyn that Prince Edward, who was then on his return from the Holy Land, would preside at the hearing, which was prorogued to the Easter following.¹

This arrangement was interrupted by the King's death on the 16th November and the continued absence of Edward, who did not return to England until the 2nd August 1274. His coronation took place on the 19th August. Llewelyn, although summoned to attend,

¹ As regards Llewelyn's siege, see "County Bags, Wales", Box 143 B, No. 27 (the contents of which are printed in *Arch. Camb.*, N.S., vol. i, p. 285); Patent Rolls, 55 H. III, m. 1; and *Shirley's Letters*, vol. ii, p. 343.

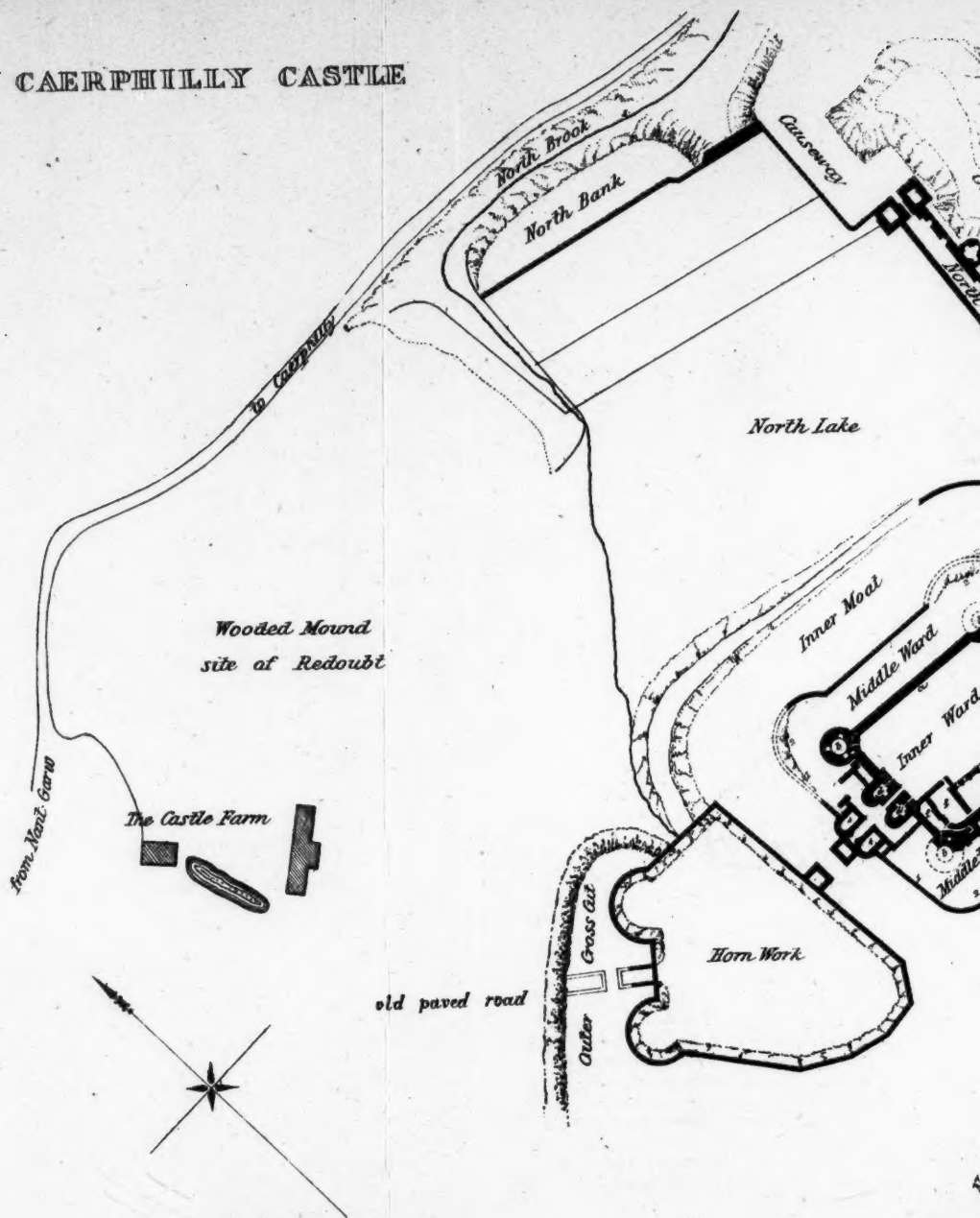
was not present at the coronation ; we may, therefore, assume, from Llewelyn's absence and open hostility soon afterwards, that no hearing took place, and that the Earl continued in possession, although the district of Senghenydd again became the scene of warfare, and so continued until the death of Llewelyn and the final conquest of Wales.

Any one who regards the ruins of the castle will recognise how improbable it is that Llewelyn could have passed through its several defences, and have taken it on the third day, or that the gate through which the Constable of Cardiff passed would have placed his followers on their entrance in possession of the castle. The redoubt on the north-west of the castle may have been the site of the castle which Llewelyn besieged ; and Earl Gilbert, under a sense of its insecurity and the probability of a fresh assault on the part of Llewelyn, may have built a new castle in the marsh, with every defence which the military science of the day suggested. If the castle stands on its original site, its fortifications must have been greatly increased on all sides after Llewelyn's siege.

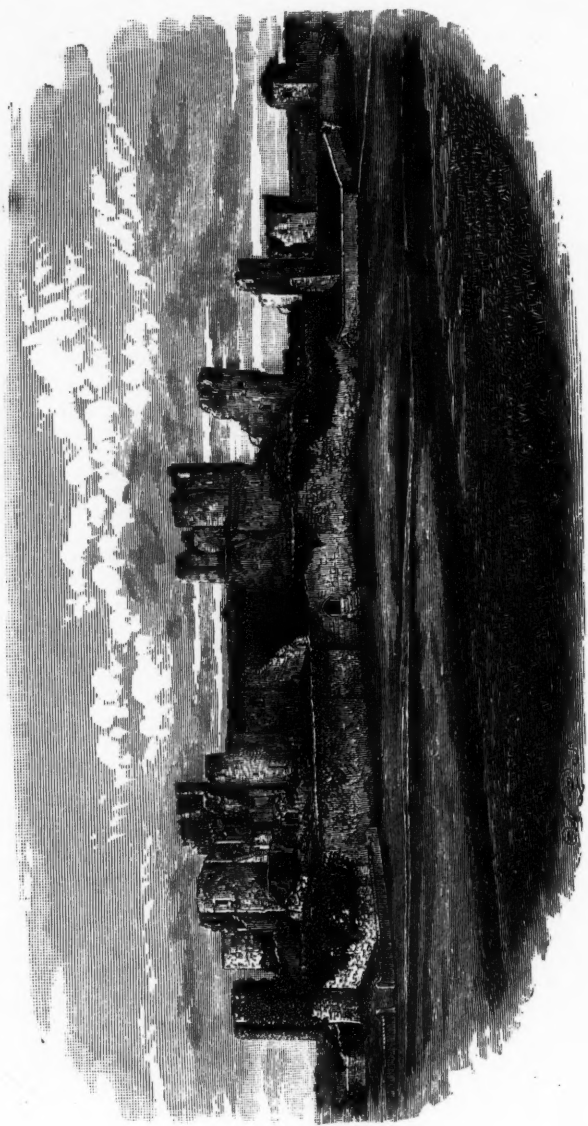
Caerphilly is considered by Mr. Clark to be both the earliest and the most complete example of the Edwardian, or concentric, castle in the kingdom. It comprises within its fortifications a larger extent of land than any other fortress in Wales. Adopting the words of Mr. Clark, "The first characteristic of a concentric castle is the arrangement of its lines of defence, one within the other, two, or even three deep, with towers at the angles and along the walls, so placed that no part is left entirely to its own defences"; and again, "The parts of the lines of defence were so arranged that the garrison could sally from one part, and so harass the attack upon another ; moreover, each part, tower, or gatehouse, and sometimes each stage of a building, was so contrived that it could be held separately for a short time ; also, from the concentric arrangement of the lines, a breach of the outer wall did not involve the loss of the place."



CAERPHILLY CASTLE



Scale of Feet.
100 200 300 400 500
132 feet to 1 inch.



CAERPHILLY CASTLE.

A reference to the plan of the castle will at once show how well Caerphilly answered the conditions of such a fortress. Built on a gravelly eminence in the centre of the marsh, surrounded by moats, which could at any time be filled with water by damming up Nant y Gledwr and the water which flowed on the northern part of the swamp, the outer defence of the castle on the east was a wide moat, on the opposite side of which ran, for a length of 250 yards, a strong curtain wall, with towers at intervals on it, and postern gates at either end of the curtain. At its southern end were strong towers to protect the dam and sluice in the curtain, by which the waters of the lake were retained and regulated. Nearly in the centre of this curtain the eastern gatehouse, built on a large fortified platform, was approached by a drawbridge of two spans, each connected by a large pier in the outer moat. On the platform was a corn-mill for the use of the garrison. Passing across the platform, another drawbridge over an inner moat, about 45 feet wide, led to the gatehouse of the middle ward, defended by two towers, with half-round projections on either side of the gateway, and connected with a large gatehouse on the western front by curtain walls in the form of a parallelogram, rounded, or bowed outwards, at each of its angles. A somewhat narrow terrace occupied the space between the fortifications of the middle and inner wards. The inner ward formed a quadrangle, measuring 200 feet in length from east to west, and 160 feet in width, enclosed by curtain walls, capped at each angle by a round bastion tower, with two lofty gatehouses on the east and west fronts, each gateway having two half-round towers as its defence. The hall and domestic buildings were on the southern side of the inner ward, and communicated with a large tower and water-gate in the curtain of the middle ward. The western approach was further protected by a large hornwork, or barbican, of earth, scarped off to the level of the wall, by which it was surrounded, and communicating by a drawbridge

across a moat with the western gate. It also, by means of cross cuts, could be surrounded by water. This brief description, with the aid of the plan, may give a general notion of the nature and extent of the fortifications, which were probably carried out by Earl Gilbert during the reign of the first Edward.

On the marriage of Earl Gilbert in 1290 with King Edward's daughter, Joan, the Earl's Glamorganshire estates were regranted by the King to the Earl and his Countess jointly and their issue. Earl Gilbert died in 1295. The Extent, taken at Caerphilly on the 22nd Feb. 1297, before a jury composed of David the wheelwright (Qhuelwryghte), Robert Chambers (de Camera), Richard de Bromfel, John le Bakere, Ithel le Webbe, and Yeuan le Melleward, probably retainers connected with the castle, states that there was there a castle in good condition, and well fortified, with a fish-pond (*vivarium*) of the value of which the jury were ignorant; also 80 acres of arable land, worth yearly 13s. 4d.; 16 acres of pasture worth 4s.; 80 burnt burgage tenements, which before the war were wont to yield yearly 40s.; also two mills, which before the war were worth yearly 16 marcs, and were then worth nothing, because the country around was laid waste. The pleas and perquisites of court, worth formerly 40s., yielded nothing. They also found that Gilbert de Clare and Joan jointly held of the King in chief, and that Gilbert de Clare, their son, then of the age of four years, was their next heir.

The Inquisition post-mortem on the death of the Countess, taken at Caerphilly before the Escheator and a Welsh jury on the 9th June 1307, gives some further information as to the town. The water-mill is valued at £5 yearly, and the fulling-mill as worth nothing. In the town of Caerphilly were forty-two burgesses, who each held with his tenement an acre of land at the yearly rent of 1s.; other burgesses held 18½ burgage tenements, without land, at an aggregate yearly rent of 9s. 3d. There were also two burgesses

who held two burgage tenements, destroyed during the war, at a yearly rent of 8*d*. The burgesses were probably free from all services, except service in time of war and attendance at the lord's courts.

Gilbert, the succeeding Earl, had livery of his lands in 1307 (1 Edw. II), notwithstanding his minority. He was then and in after years engaged in the war with Scotland, and was killed while leading the vanguard of the King's army at the battle of Bannockburn, 24 June 1314. He left three sisters, his co-heiresses, the eldest of whom, Eleanor, became the wife of Hugh le Despenser the younger. The Inquisition taken on his death throws no light on the then state of the Castle; but we learn from it that the water-mill was then let for 100*s*., and the fulling-mill again in working order and let for 50*s*. The custody of his castles and lands in Glamorganshire (including Caerphilly) was shortly afterwards committed to John de Everdon and Ingelram Berenger, as Constables during the King's pleasure.¹

In the early part of 1316, while the castles and lands were in the King's hands, Llewelyn ap Rhys (better known as Llewelyn Bren), who had been deprived of a considerable post which he held under the late Earl, took advantage of the exactions of the King's ministers in those parts to stir up an insurrection of the Welsh for redress of their grievances. Invading the late Earl's possessions in Glamorganshire, he surprised and took away captive the Constable of Caerphilly while he was holding his court outside the Castle, and then attacked the Castle, where he "met with such a resistance as prevented his entrance, although he succeeded in burning all the outward walls."² This statement of the chronicler must be an exaggeration of what took place. Llewelyn Bren may have burnt all the wooden defences in his way, but he could not have done much damage by fire to the walls.

¹ Rot. Original., 8 Edward II.

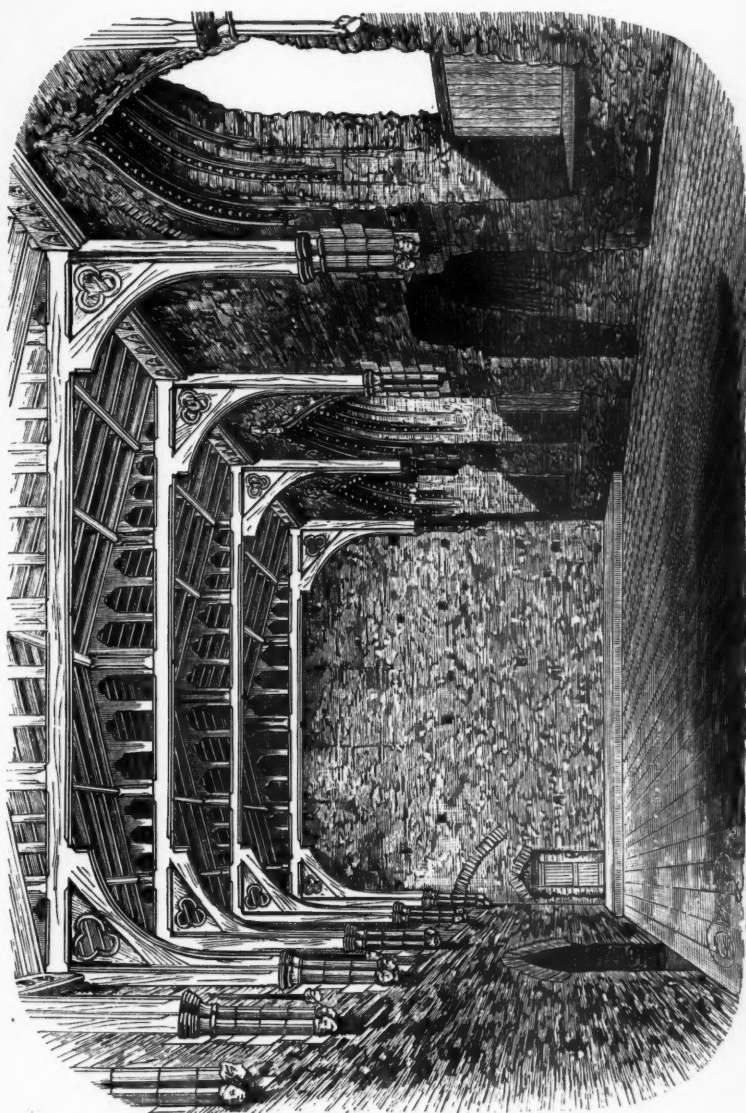
² See *Arch. Camb.*, N.S., vol. ii, "On the Insurrection of Llewelyn Bren", and the monk of Malmesbury there cited.

In 1318 Hugh le Despenser obtained a confirmation of all the royalties within the territories and lordships of Glamorgan and Morganwg which the late Earl enjoyed, as the share of his wife Eleanor in her inheritance. Taking advantage of the excessive favour shown to him, as Chamberlain of the Household, by the King, he enriched himself with insatiable avarice by encroaching on the lands of others, obtained numerous grants of forfeited lands and castles, and so provoked a rising of the Lords of the Marches, the temporary banishment of himself and his father, and in the end their disgrace and ruin.

To him we may attribute the almost palatial extension and alteration of the hall of Caerphilly Castle, which measures 73 ft. by 35 ft., and was about 30 ft. high. The hall was lighted by four lofty and well proportioned windows in the Decorated style, in the north wall, at the east end of which was a fine doorway, corresponding in style and form with the windows, and leading into the inner court. The roof was supported by fourteen short clustered pilasters resting upon corbels terminating in triple heads, beautifully executed in oolitic stone. The south and end walls were plastered; but the north wall, probably rebuilt, is cased with ashlar-work of oolitic stone. Empty grooves in the south wall, once filled with the upright posts of the hammer-beams in the earlier roof, and a joint of walling, still visible in the west wall, afford further evidence of the partial rebuilding and extension of the hall.¹ A reference to the wood engraving will render any further description of it unnecessary; but it may be well to note that the present wooden roof, supported by the pilasters, is a very recent work, erected for a social gathering.

The confederate nobles, in their attempt to redress their grievances against the younger Despenser in 1321,

¹ The practical eye of Mr. Stephen W. Williams noted these alterations, and he called my attention to them on the spot.



HALL OF CAERPHILLY CASTLE.

laid waste his Glamorganshire lands, and reduced and destroyed many of his castles. Caerphilly may have been taken, but it escaped any serious damage. In the Parliament of May 1323 the proceedings against the Despensers were reversed, their exile was repealed, and the elder Despenser was created Earl of Winchester. Their restoration to the royal favour, and the advantage which the younger Despenser took of the King's weakness of character, renewed their unpopularity. In March 1325 Queen Isabella crossed over to France on a visit to the King, her brother; but she soon expressed her determination not to return to England until the Despensers were dismissed by the King. In September following Prince Edward left for France, to do homage in his father's stead, and was detained there by the Queen in order to further her designs against the King. On the 24th of September 1326, the Queen and Prince Edward, with the Earl of Kent, Roger Mortimer, and other exiles, landed at Harwich, where she was well received by a large number of nobles and several bishops, and soon assembled a large army at her disposal.

On hearing of the Queen's approach, and that the commonalty of the kingdom as well as the city of London adhered to her cause, the King withdrew, on the 29th of September, from London, in company with the two Despensers, by way of Gloucester, to Chepstow, where, on the 16th of October, he appointed the Earl of Winchester the commander-in-chief of his forces in the West, and committed to him the defence of Bristol and its Castle. With a view to prevent the King's escape, the Queen rapidly followed, with her army, the King's movements. She reached Wallingford on the 15th of October, and proceeded to Gloucester, where she received a considerable accession to her forces, and sent forward the best of her troops to Bristol, which the Earl of Winchester was speedily forced to surrender. On receiving the news of its surrender, the Queen moved onward, and arrived at Bristol on the 26th of

October. On the following day the Earl of Winchester was condemned by popular clamour, without a trial, and executed.

Meanwhile the King, with the younger Despenser, had left Chepstow for Caerphilly, in the hope of getting his vassals in Pembrokeshire, Glamorganshire, Gower, and other parts of South Wales, to rise in his favour. While at Cardiff on the 27th, and at Caerphilly on the 29th and 30th of October, he issued commissions to Rhys ap Griffith and others for the purpose. Disappointed in his attempt to thus raise an army, he left Caerphilly, committing the custody of the Castle to John de Felton. Proceeding to Margam, where, on November 4, he issued a commission for the defence of the coast against his enemies, he embarked with Despenser in a vessel for the coast of Ireland. After beating about with a contrary wind, for a few days, in the Bristol Channel, he returned, landing privately at Swansea, and took refuge in Neath Abbey. From thence, on Nov. 10th, he sent the Abbot, his nephew, Edward de Bohun, and others, to treat with the Queen and Prince Edward, who had assumed the government of the kingdom.

Leaving Neath with Despenser and a few other followers, the King again arrived at Caerphilly. Despairing of any arrangement with the Queen, and anxious to escape, he appears to have again left the Castle after he had committed its custody to Roger de Chandos, a few years previously Sheriff of Herefordshire, and entrusted the care of all his gold and silver, arms, victuals, and other effects in the Castle to Thomas de London.¹

The Queen, with her army, had arrived at Hereford, where she stayed a month. From thence she sent the Earl of Leicester, William la Zouche of Mortimer, and Rhys ap Howel, with others who were well acquainted with the country, to find out and seize the King in his retreat. This, by the aid of bribes, and with the aid

¹ *Abbrev. Rot. Original.*, vol. i, p. 382.

of the Welsh, they succeeded in accomplishing. The King was taken, on the 16th of November, near the Castle of Llantrissant, with Robert de Baldok and Simon de Redyng, and Despenser, in a neighbouring wood. They were all taken to Hereford, where, on the 24th of November, Despenser was arraigned without trial, and executed.¹

A pardon was granted, on the 4th of January following, in the King's name, to all in the Castle of Caerphilly, except Hugh, the son of the younger Despenser.² He gallantly continued its defence in the King's name, and held it against his assailants until Easter, when he surrendered it on security given for the lives of himself and the garrison. William la Zouche had probably the conduct of the siege, as he received an allowance (1 Edward III) for thirty men at arms to besiege the Castle if it should not be rendered. His mother, Eleanor, was detained a prisoner, with her family, in the Tower of London, until February 1328, when she was liberated, and received into the King's favour. Shortly afterwards she married William la Zouche, who in the early part of 1329 laid siege to the Castle of Caerphilly, then in the King's hands.³ Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the King's Justiciary for Wales, was directed to raise the siege, and bring William la Zouche and Eleanor into the King's presence. Whatever difficulties there may have been, all was satisfactorily adjusted, and in 1330 the King restored to them and the heirs of his cousin, Eleanor, the land of Glamorgan and Morganwg. Hugh, her son, received in 1333 the King's pardon for the defence of the Castle,⁴ and on his mother's death, in 1337, had livery of her lands in Glamorganshire and elsewhere.

Little more remains to be told of what happened to

¹ For the King's flight, see Patent Rolls, 20 Edward II; Adami Murimuth, *Chronicon*, p. 46; and Carte's *History*.

² Patent Rolls, 20 Edward II, m. 3.

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iv, p. 374

⁴ Patent Rolls, 6 Edward III, m. 26.

the Castle of Caerphilly. It appears to have been in a defensible position at the time of Owen Glyndwr's rising, for the defence of the Castles of Caerphilly and Ewyas Lacy was committed by the King to Constance Lady Despenser on the 8th of September 1403. Before the middle of the same century it ceased to be a fortified residence, and had fallen to the condition of a prison. When Leland visited it, in the reign of Henry VIII, it was used for the same purpose, and had fallen into a ruinous state. Wind and weather since have done much to increase its ruin ; and the hand of man, in the endeavour to destroy with gunpowder several of the bastions of the middle ward and towers, and in the removal of the ornamental stonework of the exterior of the hall, has done more ; but the bare walls still stand to attest its past grandeur and the scientific skill of its builder.

R. W. B.

THE
PORTIONARY CHURCHES OF MEDIÆVAL
NORTH WALES;

THEIR TRIBAL RELATIONS, AND THE SINECURISM
CONNECTED THEREWITH.

IN the year 1291 was made, as is very well known, a valuation of all the ecclesiastical benefices of England and Wales. The record of this valuation, commonly called *The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas*, is full of interesting information concerning the time to which it relates.

We gather from *The Taxatio* that, at the date of it, while in the two northern dioceses of Wales, to each parish there belonged, for the most part, but a single priest, there was in almost every deanery at least one parish (generally more than one), the revenues of which were divided into "portions",—the shares of an equal number of priests to the same parish belonging.

In the case of several of the parishes noticed in *The Taxatio*, some of the priests were really curates in charge of chapels dependent upon the parish church (see p. 195); but cases of this kind are only here mentioned to be excluded for the present from consideration. It is the case of those parishes in which two or more priests were connected with the parish church itself, whether the church had chapels dependent on it or not, that we have in the first place to consider.

The shares of the parochial revenues which were enjoyed by the several priests connected with the parish church, are called, as we have seen in *The Taxatio* and elsewhere, "portiones" or "portions", a name which will henceforth suffice for designating them. The priests themselves, to whom these "portions" were severally assigned, may then be called "comportioners", and the churches in connection with which this arrangement subsisted "portionary churches".

The portionary churches of mediæval North Wales, which we have now to study, ought properly to be arranged, it soon becomes evident, in two distinct groups. To the first group belonged those churches in the case of which all the comportioners were *resident*, actually serving the church with which they were connected, and forming within it a sort of college or society of canons or prebendaries. These we will call "collegiate portionary churches". We shall hereafter see that while some of these belonged to the class of collegiate churches common in England, others were of a type peculiar to this part of Wales.

The second group of portionary churches will then include all those churches in the case of which the comportioners were *non-resident*, their place being supplied by a single priest called "the vicar", who had undivided charge of the parish, and to whom was, therefore, surrendered a portion, but seldom so much as a half, of the parochial revenues. The tithes were thus divided into vicarial and rectorial, and the rectorial tithes into two or more "portions", enjoyed severally by an equal number of sinecurists.¹ We will call, therefore, the churches in connection with which this arrangement subsisted, "churches of the portionary sinecures". Most of the portionary churches of the dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor belonged formerly to this group.

Postponing, for the present, the consideration of the distinction between these two classes of portionary churches, let us fix our attention upon the phenomenon in respect of which they agree, the division of their tithes into distinct "portions". What was the origin of these portions? And to what did they correspond?

We will study this problem first of all in connection with a church concerning which we happen to know a

¹ I have assumed above that the sinecure comportioners were all priests; and I believe not merely that all of them were originally in orders, but also that in 1291 most of them were still so; but it is not impossible that by the thirteenth century some of the sinecure "portions" may have been in the possession of laymen.

great deal, the collegiate church of Caergybi, or Holyhead, in Anglesey. This church was formerly served by a college of twelve canons or prebendaries. Now there are extant two lists, compiled apparently about the middle of the fourteenth century, in which are given not merely the names of the priests occupying the several canonries within the church of Caergybi, but also the names of those in whom the patronage of the said canonries rested. The patronage of each canonry was in the hands, we note, not of a single person, but of a group of persons, the descendants of a common forefather. But it is necessary to take cognizance of the details of this curious arrangement, and I therefore give below¹ a summary of one of the two lists

¹ 1 and 2. The canonries held by Llewelyn ap Rhys ap Iorwerth and Robert Appleby were in the patronage of Ieuan ap Madoc ap Ithel and six others, all of whom were of the progeny of Cadwgan ap Llywarch.

3 and 4. The canonries held by Master Hugh Trygarn and John ap Grono ap William were in the patronage of Maltt ferch Gruffydd ap Eden and five others, all of whom were of the progeny of Madoc ap Llywarch.

5 and 6. The canonries held by Adam Bryan and Thomas Marchant were in the patronage of the sons of Cyfnerth ap Meredydd and seven other persons, all of whom were of the progeny of Iorwerth ap Llywarch.

7. The canonry held by [Walter] Swaffham was in the patronage of the sons of Dafydd ap Meurig, of the heirs of Madoc ap Cyfnerth Goch, of the heirs of Dafydd ap Cyfnerth Goch, of the heirs of Adda Goch, and of four persons besides, all of whom were of the progeny of Bledrws ap Hwfa.

8. The canonry held by Master John Cayer was in the patronage of Iorwerth ap Einion ap Madoc Goch and twelve others, all of whom were of the progeny of Cyfnerth ap Hwfa.

9. The canonry held by Byggyng was in the patronage of Sir John Kighley, Knight, of William ap Gruffydd, and of ten others, all of whom were of the progeny of Ieuan ap Hwfa.

10. The canonry held by Sorsby was in the patronage of Llywelyn ap Hwelyn ap Hywel and fourteen others, all of whom were of the progeny of Iorwerth ap Hwfa.

11. The canonry held by Hywel ap Llywelyn ap Ieuan ap Tudor was in the patronage of William ap Ithel Fychan and sixteen others, all of whom were of the progeny of Grono ap Iorwerth.

12. The canonry held by Thomas Toon was in the patronage of the representatives of the two progenies last named.

named. Now it is quite clear, from the form in which the statements made in the list is given, that the patrons of the several canonries in Caergybi Church were the existing representatives of certain "cenedloedd" or "kins",¹ who occupied a corresponding number of "gwelyau", or tracts of tribal land, within the parish of the same. The proof, however, of this statement will not, perhaps, be properly appreciated by all unless the terms used in it be exactly explained. This, therefore, will now be done.

A "gwely" was the land occupied by a "cenedl" or group of persons springing from the "gwely" or bed of a common ancestor. It was at first the land of this same ancestor, and after his death was tied up or entailed for three generations; being, however, shared equally meanwhile, in the first generation among the sons, in the second generation among the grandsons, and in the third generation among the great-grandsons of the original proprietor. But throughout all these successive partitions the "gwely" still held together, and was regarded as a unit, and it still bore the name of the first owner of it. Thus "Gwely Ithel ap Madoc" was the name of the land which belonged at first to Ithel ap Madoc, and which was still held by his progeny; that is to say, by such of his sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons, as survived. I think it can be proved that even after the third partition the "gwely" still, for certain purposes, held together; but it is evident that after that event the existing representatives of the original proprietor might themselves become stock-fathers of new kins, and a new group of "gwelyau" be formed, or a wholly new "tref"² laid out.

¹ "Cenedl" is the word always used in the Welsh laws for such a kin as is above described. This word has now a wider significance.

² A "gafael" was a theoretical landed holding, the fourth part of a normal "tref" or township, assumed for the purposes of revenue to contain sixty-four "erws" of land, and chargeable with fifteen pence a year "twnc", or tax, to the lord of the commote. When, therefore, a "gwely", in being assessed for "twnc", was treated as

We are now able to appreciate the significance of the statement made in the list, that the twelve canonries of Caergybi Church were in the gift of eight distinct "progenies". These progenies were as follow : the progeny of Cadwgan ap Llywarch, the progeny of Madoc ap Llywarch, the progeny of Iorwerth ap Llywarch, the progeny of Bledrws ap Hwfa, the progeny of Cyfnerth ap Hwfa, the progeny of Ieuan ap Hwfa, the progeny of Iorwerth ap Hwfa, the progeny of Grono ap Iorwerth.

If, now, we have interpreted the statement of the list correctly, there must formerly have been within the district served by the church of Caergybi an equal number of "gwelyau", or "gafaels",¹ called by the names of the stock-fathers of the above progenies. These "gwelyau" or "gafaels" would bear the following names: Gwely Cadwgan ap Llywarch, Gwely Madoc ap Llywarch, Gwely Iorwerth ap Llywarch, Gwely Bledrws ap Hwfa, Gwely Cyfnerth ap Hwfa, Gwely Ieuan ap Hwfa, Gwely Iorwerth ap Hwfa, Gwely Grono ap Iorwerth.

Now in the year 1353, near to the date of the compilation of the lists under discussion, a minute survey was actually made of the county of Anglesey, and we turn eagerly to the record of this survey to ascertain whether any of the "gwelyau" bearing these names in the neighbourhood of Caergybi are mentioned in it. Glancing through that portion of the survey which relates to the commote of Talybolion, in which commote Caergybi is situated, we find "Caerkeby" (that is Caergybi or Holyhead) returned with "Bodewygan" as a hamlet of the township of "Treflowar", or Tref Lly-

a "gafael", it was often called by that name. Thus the tract of tribal land inhabited by the progeny of Ithel ap Madoc (see above) might, under the conditions named, be called "Gafael" Ithel ap Madoc instead of "Gwely" Ithel ap Madoc. In my *History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales* I have dealt somewhat minutely with the "gafael" and its contents, as well as generally with the land system of ancient Wales.

¹ See note 2, p. 178.

warch; and within the limits of this township with its two hamlets, of which Caergybi was one, three of the "gwelyau" above indicated are actually described, Gwely Cadwgan ap Llywarch, Gwely Madoc ap Llywarch, and Gwely Iorwerth ap Llywarch. It is further said that in the first named "gwely" were two bovates of land, then escheat to the lord, and unoccupied, but formerly the land of Madoc ap Llewelyn; and that this Madoc had a share in the election of two prebendaries in Caergybi,—an election which had at first belonged to Cadwgan ap Llywarch. We note also that among the coheirs to whom Gwely Cadwgan ap Llywarch belonged was a man called Tudor ap Hywel ap Tudor. Now the name of Tudor ap Hywel also appears in "the list" among the names of those of the progeny of Cadwgan ap Llywarch who possessed the patronage of two of the Caergybi canonries. We may thus be quite certain that we have identified three out of the eight "gwelyau" to which the patronage of the Caergybi canonries pertained.

Now let us turn our attention to the five "gwelyau" that remain to be identified. None of these other five "gwelyau" can be traced in the township or even in the commote which contained the "gwelyau" named after the sons of Llywarch. Let us, therefore, examine that portion of the survey which relates to the commote adjoining, the commote of Llifon,—a commote into which, as we know, the ancient *parish* of Caergybi extended. Here we come upon a description of the township of "Comissok" (Conissio?), with a group of hamlets, among the names of which we recognise those of Bodedeyrn, Llechylched, Deubwll (preserved in Llanfair yn Neubwll), and Llechgynfarwy,¹ parishes in that part of the mainland of Anglesey which lies nearest to the Island of Holyhead.

Belonging to this township, with its group of ham-

¹ I desire to acknowledge the help rendered me in identifying these place-names by Mr. Thomas Prichard of Llanerchymedd.

lets, we find enumerated four other of the "gwelyau" we are in search of, namely Gwely Bledrws ap Hwfa, Gwely Cyfnerth ap Hwfa, Gwely Ieuan ap Hwfa, and Gwely Iorwerth ap Hwfa; and again, among the names of the occupiers of these "gwelyau", we note several whose names appear again in the list of patrons of the Caergybi canonries.

We have thus identified seven out of the eight "gwelyau" with which the patronage of those canonries was connected. The eighth "gwely", that of Grono ap Iorwerth, cannot be identified, though we may conclude, from what will be advanced in the next paragraph, that it lay in the same township wherein were situate the "gwelyau" of the several sons of Hwfa.

Let us now recur to the eight progenies owning the eight "gwelyau" just described. If we take note of these progenies as they are enumerated on p. 179, we shall observe that the progenitors of the first three of them were brothers, and the sons of one Llywarch. This Llywarch was, we learn from other sources, Llywarch ap Bran ap Dyfnwal, who lived in the twelfth century, and was lord of the commote of Menai.¹ He was owner also of the "tref" or township whereof Caergybi was a hamlet; a township which for that reason was called "Tref Llywarch"; but he is best known as being progenitor of one of the fifteen noble tribes of North Wales,—a tribe ("llwyth") of which the three progenies or kins ("cenedloedd") named after his sons were the first divisions. The progenitors of the four kins or progenies next named were, in like manner, brothers, and the sons (as we elsewhere learn) of Hwfa ap Cynddelw of Presaddfed, lord of the commote of Llifon. Hwfa lived in the twelfth century, and was progenitor of another of the fifteen noble tribes of North Wales. Since the progeny of Grono ap Iorwerth was associated with the progeny of Iorwerth ap

¹ In the township of Porthamel, in the commote of Menai, there were also "gwelyau" named after the three sons of Llywarch ap Bran.

Hwfa in the patronage of one of the Caergybi canonries, we may be nearly sure that Grono ap Iorwerth, the stock-father of this progeny, was one of the sons of Iorwerth ap Hwfa. The one progeny was therefore, we infer, an offshoot from the other.

Thus all the patrons of the twelve canonries of Caergybi Church are represented in the last resort by Llywarch ap Bran and Hwfa ap Cynddelw.

Now there is a tradition that Llywarch ap Bran was a great benefactor to Holyhead College. There is, in any case, a shield bearing the arms which have been *attributed* to Llywarch, still to be seen on the south side of the church; and this latter stands, we know, within a township of which he was the owner. Hwfa ap Cynddelw is, in like manner, traditionally connected with the establishment of the College of Holyhead. Dr. John Jones, of Galltfaenan, the antiquary, communicated to the Rev. Prebendary Tanner, before the year 1744, the tradition that this Hwfa was the actual founder of the College. It is certain that Llywarch ap Bran and Hwfa ap Cynddelw were the owners of the greater part of the lands from which the tithes due to Caergybi Church were derived; and I think we may conclude, from what has been said, that they were also the joint rebuilders of that church, and founders of the *later* collegiate body connected with it. This latter appears to have been constituted so as to consist of a "Præpositus", or Provost (so called in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII, but called "Rector" on the capitular seal, and "Penclas" in the current Welsh of the time), and twelve canons; the parochial revenues being equally divided (see page 193) between the Provost on the one hand, and the body of canons on the other, the stipends (described in the *Taxatio* as "portions") of the curates of the dependent chapels of Bodedeyrn, Bodwrog, and Llandrygarn¹ having been previously deducted.

¹ See note 1, p. 184.

In whose hands the patronage of the provostship ("præpositura"), so constituted, rested, is not evident; perhaps in those of the Prince of Gwynedd,¹ whence it may have fallen to the King of England. But the patronage of the canonries was equally shared between Llywarch and Hwfa; so that, assuming there to have been twelve canonries from the beginning, each of the founders had the disposal of six. The patronage of these canonries would then be subsequently distributed among the kins or tribes springing severally from Llywarch and Hwfa, according to the custom of gavelkind, whereby all the property of the deceased was equally shared among his sons,—a custom which in Wales ruled all things.²

What, then, have we actually ascertained? This, namely, that all the canonries in Caergybi Church were connected by patronage, and perhaps in other ways, with certain "gwelyau" within the parish, these "gwelyau" being occupied by an equal number of "cenedloedd", or groups of kinsfolk, who were all derived from the two lords of land who in the twelfth century rebuilt the church, or founded the college belonging to it. That these canons were in a real, though limited, sense *tribal priests* we may even venture to say.

¹ Among the possessions in Caernarvonshire, belonging of old to the church of Caergybi, was a weir called "Cored Faelgwn" (*Maelgwn's Weir*), wherefrom we conclude that Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd, was one of the earlier benefactors of Caergybi. Maelgwn's successors may, from this fact, have acquired rights of patronage within the church.

² The operation of the custom of gavelkind extended even to the pew which a man occupied in the parish church; thus in an ancient but undated list of holders of seats in Mold Church, in the possession of Mr. Davies-Cooke of Gwysannau, occur such entries as the following: "David ap Jon Blethin and Griffith ap Jon Blethin have likewise used one seat jointlie, after the tenure of there said landes, houlden after gavelkinde. Blethin ap Gwin and Res ap Gwin so hould there landes after the custome of gavelkinde, and so there seat in the said church jointlie. Res ap Hoell ap Madoc and Lewis ap Hoell ap Madoc do likewise hould there landes after the like tenure, and so there seat jointlie in the said church." (*Arch. Camb.*, 1878, p. 143.)

The church of Caergybi, or Holyhead, is the only *decisive* example that can be quoted of the arrangement whereby the "portions", or some of them,¹ belonging to a church, were connected with the several kins of free tribesmen within the district served by the same; but it is exceedingly likely that this arrangement will hereafter be found to have existed in connection with other portionary churches.² Giraldus Cambrensis says,³ in fact, without any qualification, that the Welsh churches of his time had almost as many parsons and comportioners ("personæ et participes") as there were *kins* of chief men, that is, tribes of "uchelwŷr" (*cenedloedd uchelwyr*) in the parish ("capitalium virorum in

¹ Three of the "portions" belonging in mediæval times to Caergybi Church were the stipends respectively of the priests of the three chapels (see p. 182) which were formerly dependent upon that church. These "portions" were, so far as can be ascertained, in no way connected with any sort of tribal arrangements, and will, in fact, hereafter be adduced, with other evidence, to sustain the conclusion that the greater number of the "portions" belonging to the churches of ancient North Wales were also themselves non-tribal *in their origin*, however some of them may have subsequently come to be involved in the tribal organisations of the districts served by those churches.

² A rather curious fact may, for example, here be recorded. The vicar of Pentrefoelas receives out of the tithes of his parish no more than a fixed sum of £5 a year. Now, not to go into all the details, this sum is known to have originally represented a third part of the tithes and obventions of the progeny of Marchweithian and Gwyn, occupying in the commote of Hiraethog a definite tract of land (doubtless a "gwely" or group of "gwelyau") which is now included in the parish of Pentrefoelas. The tithes of this tract of land belonged to one of the canons of St. Asaph, and a third part of them was surrendered to the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem on the condition of their ministering within the church of Dolgynwal (now Yspytty Ifan) the divine offices and sacraments to the men of the said progeny dwelling in Hiraethog. Now without reading into it a meaning which it does not fairly bear, this arrangement strikes me as being, in some measure, a concession to the principle that when a group of "gwelyau" was in the possession of a single tribe, a special provision in respect of the ministrations of the divine offices to that tribe was desirable.

³ In his *Topography of Wales* (book ii, ch. 6), written about the end of the twelfth century.

parochiâ genera"). Giraldus goes on to say that these comportioners "obtain the churches not by appointment but by succession, sons following fathers, possessing thus and defiling, by hereditary right, the sanctuary of God. And if perchance the prelate should presume to appoint or institute any other person, the *kin* ('genus') would, I doubt not, revenge the injury either upon the institutor or upon him that was instituted." Giraldus thus completely confirms the theory as to the tribal character of the priests of some of the ancient portionary churches, or of some of the priests of those churches, which has above, on other grounds, been announced; and it seems rather remarkable that the real significance of the passage which has just been quoted has never before been pointed out.

Giraldus tells us also, in the passage quoted, that the parochial "portions", or such of them as were tribal, were subject to the law of heredity, "sons following fathers, possessing thus and defiling, by hereditary right (*hereditate*), the sanctuary of God"; and herein he suggests to us an explanation of the multiplication of those portions. For the ancient Welsh were unacquainted with any law of heredity which deprived one son for the advantage of another. All the sons *that were equally qualified* had an equal share in the inheritance. If, therefore, a comportioner died leaving three sons that were priests,¹ there is nothing to show that these three sons might not succeed him in his office, the "portion" that he enjoyed becoming divided into three portions, the value of each being now reduced to a third of the whole of the original "portion". But whether the "portions" were ever actually multiplied in this way, the records are too scanty to enable us to say.

To sum up. We may regard it as proved that there was, in some cases, a connection between certain of the "portions" into which the parochial revenues were

¹ It must not be forgotten that the celibacy of priests was an obligation very imperfectly recognised in ancient Wales.

divided, and the kins or tribes of "uchelwŷr" resident within the parish ; but it is not clear whether this connection was of such a kind as to warrant us in saying that a kin was sometimes permitted to appropriate the tithes and offerings due from it to the maintenance of a priest (or priests), who should perform within the parish church the religious services required by its members, and act there as its tribal priest. We know, however, one case in which the several "portions" were in the *patronage* of the kins to which they corresponded ; and we gather from Giraldus that the comportioners were generally members of the kins to which the patronage belonged. It seems *possible*, moreover, that the "portions" tended to multiply as the priests multiplied that were descended from the original comportioners.

We have been able to show how, in the case of Caergybi, the connection between the collegiate "portions" and the kins resident within the parish came about ; and we can easily understand how in other cases, when a proprietor, owning nearly all the land in a parish, and paying nearly all the tithes there, rebuilt and endowed the church, the patronage of the "portions" *already belonging to it* should be distributed, according to the law of gavelkind, among his sons, and might thus become tribal. We can also understand how, when, say three kins within a definite district jointly built and endowed a church, the revenues of the district or parish thus formed might, *from the beginning*, be divided into three parts, the portions of an equal number of priests in the patronage of the three resident kins. But we know that the portions belonging to the cathedral churches of St. Asaph and Bangor, which form a group by themselves, were non-tribal in their origin. We know also that the "portions" belonging to the collegiate church of Clynnog Fawr were non-tribal in their origin. We know that even the "portions" belonging to the church of Caergybi itself, *in the first stage of its history*, were non-tribal ; and we have good reason for

believing that the "portions" belonging to a group which comprises nearly all the other great historic portionary churches of North Wales, and of which Llan-rhaiadr yn Mochnant may be taken as the type, were non-tribal in origin.

It is necessary, therefore, that we should now explain how the "portions" belonging to the three classes of non-tribal portionary churches just indicated appear to have arisen. We shall then be able to learn what room there was in the ecclesiastical arrangements of North Wales for *tribal* churches, and to form an idea as to whether it was possible for some of the portions of the *non-tribal* churches to become in later times tribally connected.

I may as well say at once, that to all the ancient non-tribal portionary churches, the explanation given in Archdeacon Thomas' *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph* on the whole applies. *They were all mother churches*; churches, that is, to which many of the neighbouring churches owed their first foundation, or upon which they were still, as chapels, dependent. If we wished to give them a name which should express this feature of them, and which should at the same time suggest the part they played in the early ecclesiastical history of North Wales, we might call them "missionary churches". This is, indeed, a very good name to give to the whole group, and one by which we shall often henceforth designate them.

The first group of non-tribal portionary churches includes the two cathedrals of St. Asaph and Bangor. Inasmuch as the cathedral church of Llanelwy (known to the English as St. Asaph) is, in some respects, typical of all these non-tribal portionary churches, and since our knowledge of its history is much more exact than our knowledge of the history of the rest, it may be fitting to give first of all a brief account of the development of the capitular body belonging to it.

The religious brotherhood out of which the Chapter of St. Asaph has since developed, was founded by a

North British saint known to the Welsh as Cyndeyrn, to the Scots as Mungo, and to the English as Kentigern.¹ Cyndeyrn was succeeded, as Abbot of the community, by one of his disciples, Asa, whom the English call Asaph. The members of this community, who because they lived according to a recognised canon or rule came to be called "Canonici" or "Canons", dwelt in separate huts or cells within the "llan" or enclosure which contained their church. Not merely did they maintain the services of this church, but they formed what Archdeacon Thomas has aptly called "a missionary colony". Certain of them, being priests, were used to pay regular visits to various spots in the neighbourhood for the purpose of evangelising the people. At these spots chapels would in time be erected. When such chapels were built by the lords of commotes, or by the heads or representatives of tribes, who at the same time made provision for their proper maintenance, they would, we may suspect, be treated as parish churches, the patronage of which would belong to those who endowed or erected them. I believe, in fact, that most of what I may call "the tribal churches" were originally chapels that arose in this way. Districts or parishes (*παροικιαί*, *neighbourhoods*) would be assigned to such churches, which would then enjoy all the tithes accruing within the same. Chapelries that were very remote from the mother church might also be erected into independent parishes, even when no special provision for the continuance of the services thereof had been made by those upon the spot; a permanent charge upon the revenues of such parishes, as well as the patronage of their livings, being, however, reserved to the mother church.

But generally, when the cost of erecting a "mission-

¹ It may be well to say that Kentigern, the name by which Cyndeyrn is known to the English, is derived from "Kentigernus", which is but a Latinisation of his Welsh name; and that "Mungo", the name by which he is known in Scotland, is itself also a Welsh appellation,—*"Mwyngu"*, mild and beloved.

chapel", and the charge of maintaining its services, had, before the regular and yearly payment of tithes became general, been borne by the religious community connected with the mother church, such a chapel was treated merely as a chapel of ease, and the inhabitants of the townships served by it as parishioners of the mother church.

It is not certain whether, in the case of Llanelwy, each of the chapelries was served *at first* by all the canons of the college, each taking his turn in supplying them, or by a single member of that college. In either case the canons in charge lived at Llanelwy, and not within their chapelries. When, subsequently, resident vicars, called at first "capellani", or "chaplains", were appointed to the several chapels, a portion (by custom a third) of the tithes due there were surrendered to them; but the remaining two-thirds, or rectorial portion of the tithes were still paid to the church of Llanelwy, and formed, with the issues of the lands in the possession of the college,¹ the fund out of which the canons were maintained, and the general charges of the church and establishment defrayed.

When the abbot, however, had developed into a bishop exercising jurisdiction throughout the whole kingdom of Powys, and the brethren had become a cathedral chapter, the demands upon the collegiate revenues, due to these changed conditions, appear to have led to an arrangement whereby half the canons

¹ The greater part of these lands belonged probably to the community from the earliest times; from the times, that is, of Cyndeyrn and Asa. These earliest possessions consisted, *for the most part*, of three distinct groups of townships and "maenols", which formed afterwards the three *manors* of Llanelwy, Llangernyw, and Gallt Melyd. Within these and their appurtenances the abbot (bishop) ruled like a temporal lord, holding his courts and levying his rents, dues, and services, and having, like the lord of a commote, his three chief officers ("ballivi")—his forester, his raglot, and his "segenfab", if this last be the true name for the officer who corresponded to the secular "cais", "pencais", or receiver. For an account of these officers, see my *History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales*, pp. 104-107.

(those afterwards called "cursal") were relieved from the obligation of residence at Llanelwy, and allowed to accept benefices (the new vicarages, for example,) elsewhere, receiving at the same time a diminished share of the collegiate funds. A larger income was thus obtained for the remaining members of the college, for the precentor, the sacristan, the chancellor, the treasurer, and two others (*four* others if we include the dean and archdeacon), and their continued residence for the present assured.

This larger income was secured to the six (or eight) canons by assigning to them as stipends the rectorial tithes of one or more of the dependent chapels, or of a portion of them. Such stipends were called, in the ecclesiastical Latin of the time, "prebendæ". The canons resident, therefore, so provided for, came to be called "prebendaries", and were the predecessors of those members of the Chapter of St. Asaph that were afterwards specifically known by that name.

This is the state of things we find established when, in 1291, the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas was made. The church of Llanelwy may, therefore, be regarded as possessing at that time eighteen "portions";¹ some representing the tithes of certain specific chapelries or townships, and others consisting of shares in the remaining revenues of the Chapter. But these "portions" were in no way connected with tribal arrangements such as we know to have existed in connection with the church of Holyhead² and with other churches.³

Clynnog Fawr, founded by St. Beuno, is a type of

¹ The "portions" of the dean and archdeacon, and of the four vicars choral, are here reckoned, but not those of the bishop, and the vicar of Gwyddelwern.

² It is curious, nevertheless, that the "portion" of the prebendary of Llanefydd included a sum payable out of a group of "gwelyau" situate within the parish of Pentrefoelas, which were wholly in the possession of members of the tribe of Marchweithian and Gwyn. (See note 2, p. 184.)

³ An account of other arrangements connected with the cathedral church of St. Asaph will be given in a later note (see note, p. 199).

the *second class* of non-tribal portionary churches. Originally, like Llanelwy and the two Bangors, the seat of a religious brotherhood, and enjoying, like Llanelwy, the issues of the township or group of townships in which it stood, as well as those of townships far removed from it, Clynnog was desolated by war not many years after its foundation, and was thereafter reduced to the condition of an ordinary collegiate church. By this title we find it described in the time of King Edward (? IV), and again, and finally, at the time of the Dissolution; at both which times a "præpositus" (that is, a provost or rector) presided over it. *The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas* mentions five "portions" in connection with it, namely,—“The portion of Master Anian Goch in the church of Clynnog Fawr, $9\frac{1}{2}$ marks;¹ the portion of William Fychan and obventions, 7 marks; the portion of Matthew, the chaplain, in the same, $7\frac{1}{2}$ marks; the portion of John, the chaplain, in the same, 7 marks; the portion of David, the chaplain, in the same, 7 marks.” Now, since the last three of these five are the “portions” of chaplains (“capellani”), we might surmise that Clynnog Fawr had three chapelries dependent upon it, and on looking into the supplement to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII we find that there were, in fact, three such dependent chapelries:—the joint chapelry of Llanwnda and Llanfaglan, the joint chapelry of Llangeinwen and Llangaffo² in Anglesey, and the chapelry of Llangelynin in Merionethshire. There were, therefore, in 1291 only two comportioners directly connected with the collegiate church itself, of whom one was the provost;³ for it is impossible to suppose

¹ A mark is worth two thirds of a pound, or 13s. 4d.

² Llangaffo was really dependent upon Llangeinwen, as Llangeinwen was dependent upon Clynnog.

³ We read, at the time of the Dissolution, not merely of the provost of Clynnog, and of the vicar of the same, but also of a priest there, serving the chantry of St. Giles. It is possible some of the “portions” of other churches may have been the stipends of chantry-priests.

that the three comportioners that were chaplains could, *if they really served their cures*, often be present at Clynnog to take part in the services of the church there. Llanwnda, the nearest of the chapels, was about ten miles distant; Llangelynin, beyond Barmouth, could hardly be less than fifty miles distant; while Llangeinwen, far away in the Isle of Anglesey, was only approachable by sea. If the three comportioners were really resident at Clynnog, they must have been called "chaplains" because the tithes of the three chapelries were appropriated as "prebends" to their support, the chapelries being actually served by curates in charge. I am not sure, indeed, that the six prebendaries of Llanelwy are not themselves called "chaplains" in a document of the year 1380. It is clear that the collegiate body of Clynnog Fawr may be taken as a type of what St. Asaph and Bangor would have been if they had not developed into cathedral chapters. But in the fact that it was endowed with the temporal rents of many townships, and the revenues of remote chapelries, it presents a complexity of conditions which at once separates it from the mass of the non-tribal, portionary churches. To find the simplest type of these churches we must study the churches of the third class.

Before, however, we pass to the churches of the third class it may be well to spend a little while in examining the history of the church of Caergybi, or Holyhead, in the time when it was as yet non-tribal; prior, that is, to its formal and final collegiation. And it will be the more fitting for us to do this since, in the first place, we have already said a great deal of the later collegiate condition of Caergybi Church; and since, secondly, that church, while it must be placed among the non-tribal churches of the second class, presents features which connect it with the churches of the third class, which we have next to study.

St. Cybi founded at Holyhead a religious brotherhood resembling that which St. Cyndeyrn founded at

Llanelwy, St. Dunawd at Bangor-is-y-Coed, St. Deiniol at Bangor Fawr, and St. Beuno at Clynnog. This establishment was the seat of an active religious life, and the centre from which a great part of the western side of Anglesey appears to have been evangelised. We see to this day, among the churches of the neighbourhood, relics of the connection with Caergybi Church which this state of things involved ; but we will confine our attention to the evidence supplied by authoritative ancient documents as to this connection.

Belonging to the church of Caergybi are mentioned, in 1291, not merely the "præpositura", or provostship, worth 39 marks a year, and, by implication, the portions of the twelve canons,¹ also worth 39 marks, but, in addition, the following other portions : — "portion of Gervase, the chaplain, in the same church, 11 marks ; portion of Clement, the chaplain, in the same, 6½ marks ; portion of Philip ap Bleddyn in the same, 6½ marks." Gervase and Clement are here distinctly described as "chaplains" (that is, as priests in charge of chapels), and Philip ap Bleddyn was also probably a chaplain. Now we know that the ancient parish of Caergybi actually included, and still included in the reign of Edward VI, the chapelries of Bodedeyrn, Bodwrog, and Llandrygarn (see p. 182), now the heads of distinct parishes. Though these chapels are somewhat distant from Caergybi, they are not so distant as to forbid the notion of their having been at first served by members of the community there seated : indeed, it is almost certain that they were so served.

Nor were these, we imagine, the only churches in the

¹ In the *Tazatio* of Pope Nicholas the portions of these twelve canons are not at all mentioned ; but in a nearly contemporary list, based upon this *Tazatio*, giving the value of all the benefices of the diocese of Bangor, the net revenues of Caergybi are returned as 78 marks, the provostship being 39 marks ; so that it appears as though the *rectorial* revenues of the church of Caergybi and of its chapels were equally divided between the provost on the one hand, and the body of canons on the other. We know also that each canonry was of the same value.

neighbourhood which owed their origin to the labours of the brethren at Caergybi, and which were built upon the sites of preaching-stations that were at first wholly supplied by them. But in the case of the preaching-stations last named, some local lord (the lord of a commote or "maenol", the proprietor of a township, or the father of a tribe) having built and endowed a church, was allowed to nominate a resident priest, to whose care a district surrounding the church was then, as a distinct parish, assigned; and to whom were, at the same time, surrendered the tithes accruing within the parish so formed. It was in connection with churches of this kind, and especially with churches of which the founders were also the stock-fathers of "llwythau", or groups of kins, that the peculiar tribal arrangements already described were liable to arise.

When, however, chapels were erected at Bodedeyrn, Bodwrog, and Llandrygarn, this was done, we must suppose, at the sole or main charge of the community at Caergybi. When, therefore, resident priests or chaplains were put in charge of these chapels, and a certain part of the revenues of their chapelries resigned to them, the greater part of those revenues continued to be paid to the mother church, and formed the fund out of which the brethren (comportioners), resident there, were maintained.

The non-tribal churches of the first and second classes resembled each other in these two respects, that the communities belonging to them are known to have been monastic in origin, and that these communities enjoyed very extensive landed possessions; so that the heads of them, bishops, abbots, or provosts, were not merely high spiritual functionaries, but also great temporal lords.

The *third class* of non-tribal portionary churches comprises nearly all the other great historical churches of North Wales, Llanrhaiadr-yn-Mochnant, Meifod, Corwen, Dinerth (now Llandrillo-yn-Rhos), Aberdaron, Llandinam, Towyn, and many others. In the case of

most of the churches of this class we find the same phenomenon to which we have called attention in the case of the churches of the first and second classes,—the dependence, namely, as chapels, upon the chief or mother-church of some of the other churches of the neighbourhood.¹ These chapels were, indeed, in charge of chaplains,² but the mass of the tithes of the districts served by these chapels was paid to the mother church, and the inhabitants of those districts regarded as parishioners thereof. The stipends of the chaplains were reckoned as “portions” connected with the parish. But when the “portions” of the chaplains have been deducted, we find, in most cases, several parochial “portions” still remaining. These are the “portions” of priests (residents or sinecurists) connected with the parish church itself. Take, for example, the account of the church of Llanrhaiadr-yn-Mochnant, given in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas. This account is comprised in the following entries:—

“Church of Llanrhaiadr with its chapels, namely, Llangedwyn, Llanarmon (Mynydd Mawr), and Bettws Cadwaladr (Llangadwaladr): Portion of Gruffydd Foel, £5; portion of Gwrgeneu, £5; portion of Tudor ap Gwrgeneu, £3; portion of Llywelyn, 6s. 8d.; portion of Einion, the priest, 10s.; portion of Ewyn (Owen or Gwyn?), the priest, 6s. 8d.; portion of John, the priest, £1; portion of ‘Emeustr’, 13s. 4d.”

Now in this account the names of the ancient chapels within the parish of Llanrhaiadr-yn-Mochnant (all in the neighbourhood of Llanrhaiadr, and all now the heads of distinct parishes) are specifically given. They

¹ Those portionary churches that had not in 1291 chapels dependent upon them were nevertheless, I believe, essentially mother-churches; and some of them may have actually previously had such chapels, which, however, by this time had become independent, and the heads of separate parishes.

² In some cases each chapel had its chaplain; in others, one chaplain had charge of two chapels or even of more; but I think the chaplains had besides an actual place in the mother-church, and took part, on certain occasions, in its services.

are, we note, three in number. If, then, we assume that three of the portions above enumerated (those probably of the three "priests") were the stipends of chaplains, or priests in charge of these chapels, there will be five parochial portions remaining.¹ Now whom did the holders of these portions represent? In endeavouring to answer this question we can hardly, I think, fail, if we take into account the case of other churches showing the same characteristics, to come to the conclusion that the comportioners of all the great missionary churches of North Wales of the third class, were, speaking broadly, the successors of members of ancient religious brotherhoods to the same churches originally belonging. These brotherhoods had many features in common with those that we know were seated at Llanelwy, at the two Bangors, at Clynnog, and at Caergybi. But, in the first place, their landed possessions were comparatively small, mere glebe-lands; and, secondly, they cannot be proved to have had a monastic origin. The brethren composing them were not monks, but members of an informal, unchartered college or society. We cannot better describe them than by calling them "secular canons", a name ("canonici seculares") actually given to the comportioners ("porcionarii") of Aberdaron in a document of the thirteenth century.

These brotherhoods, colleges, or societies of priests afforded the means not only of maintaining daily service in the churches to which they belonged, but also of supplying the offices of religion at various spots scattered over a vast district surrounding them.² These

¹ Three of these portions were not taxed, and must, therefore, have been the portions of residents; and the two other portions may also have belonged to residents, since, being above £4 in value, they would have been taxed in any case. It is worth noting that Tudor, one of the comportioners, is son of Gwrgeneu, another of the comportioners.

² All the churches of each of the three classes of non-tribal churches were thus alike in these respects, that every one of them was served by a religious community of *some kind*, and was at the

districts were much wider than the areas included in the present parishes of those churches, and in the chapelries formerly dependent upon them. I sometimes imagine them to be commensurate with the areas of the older deaneries; those, for example, of 1291. But in the dues and services rendered to some of these portionary churches from other churches, independent in every respect save this one, we seem to have relics of a wider supremacy still, and of areas of influence transcending the areas of those older, but not oldest, deaneries.¹ From this point of view the appropriateness of the title "missionary churches", above applied to the group of churches under consideration, becomes apparent.

The comportioners connected with the mother-church had probably at first the parochial revenues equally divided among them; but after a while each comportioner appears to have had assigned to him instead the tithes of certain townships or group of townships within the parish, the issues of which were approximately equal. All these townships included, when they were first set out, much waste land. This waste land must

same time a missionary or mother-church. It is just possible that some of the churches of the third class were themselves *originally* monastic.

¹ Archdeacon Thomas has called attention to various relics of the ancient supremacy which belonged to some of the churches of this class: "Thus, in the grant made by Bishop Hugh, in 1239, of tithes in Llanfair Caer Einion, to the nuns of Llanllugan, a reservation was made of those which were due to himself as *rector of Meifod*; and in an agreement made in 1265 between Adam ap Meuric, rector of Meifod, and the rector of Llanfihangel (Alberbury), a considerable portion at least of the latter parish, as well as of Guilsfield, are shown to have been subject to the same mother-church..... Oswestry, according to Eyton, was the mother-church of the whole district extending from the Severn to the Ceiriog. Dinerth (Llan-drillo yn Rhos) long preserved a proof of its earlier jurisdiction, inasmuch as its rector and vicar received a portion of the tithes of the surrounding parishes of Llanelian, Llansantffraid, Llanrhos, and Llysfaen; in each of which it was the custom, until about the end of last century, for the vicar to preach two or four sermons annually, instead of which a money acknowledgment has since been substituted." (*Hist. of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, pp. 7 and 8.)

have been brought into cultivation very unequally in the case of different townships. The value of the tithes attached to the several portions came thus, in time, to vary a great deal. And here we have indicated one of the many causes which led to the wide difference in value between the different portions of which we have evidence.

The assignment, however, to each comportioner of the tithes of a separate township or group of townships led probably to another and most important result. Some of these townships must have been wholly in the possession of distinct kins of "uchelwŷr", so that the comportioners who received the tithes of those townships must have been wholly supported by the kins occupying them. Now when we remember how powerful these kins were, it strikes us as by no means unlikely that a kin or tribe was sometimes entitled to *nominate* the occupier of the portion which was composed of its own tithes. We cannot prove (the records are too scanty) that this ever happened; but if it did sometimes happen, we can see one way in which the slip of tribalism became grafted on the stock of the great non-tribal churches.

It must, I think, have been in the way just indicated, and in the other ways indicated before, that the state of things came about in North Wales which Giraldus Cambrensis described when he said that in the Welsh churches of his time there were almost as many parsons and comportioners as there were kins within the parish, that in the seats of these comportioners sons followed fathers, and that any attempt made to interfere with this mode of succession would certainly be resented by those kins that considered themselves thereby wronged.

We have now to deal with a very interesting division of our subject, the *sinecurism* of the portionary churches.

The sinecurism that gradually developed itself in connection with the cathedral church of St. Asaph dif-

ferred, by reason of the special circumstances and necessities of the latter, both as to its form and the conditions under which it arose, from the sinecurism of the mass of the portionary churches of North Wales. We shall, therefore, deal here exclusively with the sinecurism of what I have called "the portionary churches of the third class", and with the sinecurism of the tribal daughter-churches, for to the sinecurism of both these groups of churches the same remarks apply; and we shall banish to a footnote¹ such brief account of the sinecurism of St. Asaph as it may seem desirable to give.

¹ It has already been shown (see pp. 189, 190) at how early a date sinecurism became established in connection with half the canonries (those afterwards called "cursal") of St. Asaph. The circumstances under which the prebendal canonries also became afterwards, in effect, sinecures have now to be noticed. Already, in 1291, while the prebendaries were still resident, we read not merely of the "four vicars choral" who have remained down to our own times, but also of six other vicars called "minor vicars". Since the number of these vicars corresponds to the number of the prebendaries, we judge that they were the representatives of these last, so far at least as the daily celebration of the Mass of the Virgin, and of the Mass for the dead and for benefactors was concerned. Ten years later also (in 1296) an ordinance was passed in chapter, that the dean and the prebendaries of Faenol and Llannefydd should find each a priest, a good singer, to be present at the time of divine service in the cathedral church; that the archdeacon should in like manner provide a layman who was able to sing well, and play upon the organ; that the prebendary of Meliden should find two singing boys, and the two prebendaries of Llanfair one singing boy each; and finally, that the prebendary of Meifod should pay ten shillings yearly to the augmentation of the salary of the water-carrier, who should be present with the other ministers at the daily service. These arrangements seem to show that the daily participation of the prebendaries in the services of the Cathedral had, even before the end of the thirteenth century, already ceased to be obligatory, or that they were released, at any rate, from a portion of the duties connected with those services. When, in the year 1402, Owain Glyndwr destroyed the Cathedral, he burnt at the same time the houses of the [prebendal?] canons. These houses do not appear to have been ever rebuilt; nor were the prebendaries ever after so much as resident, their duties being henceforth confined (until the scheme of 1843) to attendance at the meetings of the chapter, and latterly to the preaching of from three to five sermons yearly within the Cathedral, and a smaller number within the parish church of St. Asaph.

If the value of the "portions" belonging to a church (we need not now trouble ourselves as to whether those "portions" were tribally connected or not) was large enough to enable all the comportioners to reside, these latter would constitute an informal collegiate body out of which a fully organised collegiate body might by charter or by decree be afterwards created,—a result which actually happened in the case of Caergybi, and perhaps in the case of another church.

If, on the other hand, the "portions" into which the revenues of a parish were distributed, became by repeated division, or by the changed habits of the time, too small to permanently maintain the priests connected with them, these latter might agree among themselves, and with the bishop, to surrender each a definite proportion of his income to a vicar who should represent them all, they themselves at the same time becoming released from the obligation of residence.¹

It cannot be *proved* that the peculiar form of sinecurism characterising the churches of the portionary sinecures had its origin in arrangements such as those now suggested. But that it had such an origin is at least a fair inference from the facts known. The bishops, it is probable, would favour rather than discourage arrangements of this kind. Nor is it difficult to appreciate the considerations which would induce them to do so. In the first place it appears to have been conceded that the vicarages in this way formed should be in the bishops' patronage. In other respects also the arrangements in question tended to increase the bishops' power and authority. The comportioners were used to think of their offices as personal property that could be bequeathed to their sons,—a view in which they were supported, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us (see p. 185), by those to whom they ministered. It is probable also that the obligations to the general

¹ Many of the comportioners in those parishes in the case of which a vicar is mentioned, are distinctly described in *The Tuvatio of Pope Nicholas* as elsewhere beneficed ("alibi beneficiati").

body of the parishioners, of such of the comportioners as were *quasi*-tribal priests, were very imperfectly recognised by them. The desirability, therefore, of securing, instead of this mob of resident comportioners, a single priest in each parish, who, as vicar, was responsible to the bishop, and whose relation was the same to all his parishioners, is obvious. But the necessary reform thus indicated was not achieved without cost. The old comportioners, retaining still about two-thirds of their former incomes, became *sinecurists*. The cost of the reform was thus the formal recognition of a system of ecclesiastical sinecurism in North Wales. We shall presently learn what steps were subsequently taken for the abatement of this nuisance.

The phenomenon of sinecurism, as manifested in the "churches of the portionary sinecures", must not be confounded with the arrangement which to ecclesiastical historians is well known under the name of "appropriation". The two phenomena are connected, but distinct. The practice of sinecurism, and the custom of holding a vicar who enjoyed only a small proportion of the tithes of his parish, responsible for all the work of the same, being established, the bishops of North Wales claimed the right of "appropriating" the greater part (two-thirds, generally) of the revenues of the richer parishes for the furtherance of such objects as seemed to them laudable, or of similarly appropriating any sinecure "portions" that fell to their disposal.¹ Very many "appropriations" of this kind, for the endowment of

¹ Some of these portions, in consequence of the uncertainty as to their patronage (by reason, for example, of the break-up of the kins with which certain of them had been connected), were continually falling into the bishops' hands; and the policy of the bishops, from the thirteenth century at any rate, seems to have been, in the case of the smaller parishes, to endow a resident priest with all the parochial revenues, thus making him "rector"; and in the case of the larger parishes, to appropriate the greater part of the revenues, leaving the vicarial part of the tithes only to a resident priest or vicar in the parish church, and to the perpetual curates of the dependent chapels.

religious houses, and of cathedral dignities, were in the diocese of St. Asaph made. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the rectorial tithes of Wrexham, Ruabon, Llangollen, Chirk, Llandysilio, and Llansantffraid Glynceiriog were in this way conferred by the bishop upon the Cistercian priory of Valle Crucis.

It is evident from what has been said, and from other evidence which will hereafter be adduced, that the lawfulness of vicariousness—of doing work by deputy—in all but the highest ecclesiastical offices, was generally recognised in mediæval Wales. This practice, evil as it was, was so closely connected with the habits of the people and with the vested interests of patrons and holders of sinecures, that in no other way than by a revolution could its extirpation be accomplished. But the recent complete subjection of Wales to the English power, and the weakening of all forms of authority that did not rest upon the authority of the English king, afforded conditions very favourable for an attempt to correct this evil. It was Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury who, as Metropolitan, at last took this matter in hand. The Archbishop having, in 1283, made an official visitation of the Welsh dioceses, addressed to Bishop Anian of Saint Asaph,¹ on the fourth of the kalends of July (*i.e.*, the 28th of June), a letter wherein he dealt with the questions of sinecurism and portionary churches, pointed out some of the evils connected with them, and urgently demanded the correction of them. The passages in which these points are handled are so instructive that they may very suitably be quoted in full:—"Moreover, the worship of God, the ecclesiastical offices, the teaching of grammar to the young, and the instruction of laymen in faith and morals, we believe throughout the greater part of your diocese to be in great measure wanting. For the revenues of the churches are divided into portions so small, that neither are the portionaries them-

¹ A similar letter was addressed to the Bishop of Bangor.

selves able to reside, nor can the vicars support the burden of their parishes. True it is, according to the saying of the Saviour, that every kingdom that is divided against itself shall become desolate. Wherever, therefore, churches are defrauded, by divisions of this kind, of their due services, and the cure of souls perishes, or suffers manifest injury, we ordain that those divisions, so contrary to the gospel and to right, however they may have been ordained from ancient times, shall be, as those who possess them resign or die, in the same churches for ever abolished ; and, wherever rectors do not continuously and personally reside, the vicars shall be provided with a suitable portion, whereby they may be able to sustain the parochial burdens as well as the grace of hospitality, and to celebrate the worship of God with a due complement of ministers ("condigna ministrorum assistentia"). And whosoever shall presume to hinder you in this matter, let him know that he thereby subjects himself to the terrible curse of God ("formidandæ maledictioni divinæ").

That which Archbishop Peckham effected was thus the confiscation of whatever heritable property private persons might be taken to have in the "portions" which belonged in his time to the churches of Wales. These "portions" were, as they fell vacant, to be united, so that either the rectors might be enabled to reside within their parishes, or the vicars be endowed with such stipends as might permit them to bear the charges that pertained to their functions. The primate plainly desired to give to the bishop the opportunity of rearranging the revenues of the several parishes of his diocese, the king's consent being supposed, and, generally, of dealing with them as seemed to him fit. But for this very reason the custom of "appropriation" (see p. 201)—that form of sinecurism in which the bishops were themselves interested—was still allowed; nor were the portions belonging to the cathedrals of Saint Asaph and Bangor, and to the other *definitely constituted* collegiate churches, in any way touched.

These confiscations, or resumptions, of Archbishop Peckham, effected by the sheer power of the English king, together with the earlier voluntary arrangements before described (see p. 200), necessarily resulted in an enormous increase of the bishops' patronage. And herein do we find an explanation of the fact, that nearly all the *ancient benefices* of the diocese of Saint Asaph are in the bishop's gift.¹

My acquaintance with the ecclesiastical history of South Wales is not sufficiently minute to warrant me in saying whether or not a state of things like that just described existed also formerly in the dioceses of Llandaff and St. David's. But there are certainly no traces of such a state of things in any of the adjoining dioceses of England. There were, indeed, in England plenty of collegiate churches of the type to which the cathedrals of Saint Asaph and Bangor *ultimately* conformed. And collegiate churches like Ruthin, founded as such by the liberality of a single person, were much more common there than here. We find also elsewhere plenty of examples of "appropriation" of livings, the provision for a vicar being reserved, as well as examples of charges by way of pension or endowment—often called "portions"—upon the revenues of certain parishes. But these are not cases really analogous to those with which I have essayed in this paper to deal. There are, however, I believe, examples that appear at first sight to approach much more closely to our type. There are, for instance, two English churches that were served by *three* rectors, and a third church that was

¹ The only parishes in Wales belonging, fifty years ago, to the diocese of St. Asaph, that were not in the patronage of the bishop, were those of Holywell, Hawarden, and Cegidog, or St. George; but I have given reasons, in my *History of Ancient Tenures in the Marches of North Wales*, for believing that the church of St. George was originally the "Boardland Chapel" of the lord of the commote of Rhos Isdulas. Properly speaking, therefore, Holywell and Hawarden were the only *parochial* benefices which were not in the bishop's gift. The parishes of Hanmer and Bangor-is-y-Coed, though in Wales, were, until the year 1849, in the diocese of Chester.

served by *two*. But I have had no opportunity for studying the details of such arrangements. And churches so served were at any rate rare, and may probably be regarded as a special sort of collegiate church. And they differed from those churches of North Wales of which we have in this paper treated, in that the rectors of these last were sometimes the representatives or nominees of tribes or family groups, or the occupiers of benefices that appear to have been affected in one way or another by the custom of gavelkind; or they were sinecurists, and their places supplied by a single priest—the vicar.

I should like to say, in conclusion, that the observations recorded in the foregoing paper are not to be taken as a complete account of the phenomena to which they relate, but only as a contribution to a subject which deserves and requires further investigation.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

SINCE the foregoing paper was written I have become aware that Mr. Skene, in the second volume of his *Celtic Scotland*, has discussed at some length the sinecurism and tribal connections of the ancient Celtic churches of Ireland and Scotland. Of the special form of connection which Mr. Skene describes as existing in Ireland between the great monasteries there and the tribal institutions of the country, I have in Wales found hitherto no trace. Of the connection, on the other hand, which I have described in my paper as existing in North Wales between the portions of the church and the kins of the parish, Mr. Skene seems to have come across no evidence either in Scotland or Ireland. So far, therefore, as the influence of tribalism upon ecclesiastical organisation is concerned, Mr. Skene and I have been dealing with two distinct groups of facts. But

when Mr. Skene comes to speak of the *sinecurism* of the ancient Irish and Scotch churches, even though he deals only with the sinecurism of the higher monastic offices, he records observations which are by no means without relation to the sinecurism of the ancient Welsh churches. It seems well, therefore, that I should give here an account of the explanation offered by him of the phenomenon in question, and inquire how far the explanation is applicable to the forms of sinecurism which arose in Wales. Mr. Skene refers the sinecurism which he has described exclusively to lay usurpation, and shows that the great monastic offices—the abbacies, for example—“became hereditary in the persons of laymen in two ways, either by the usurpation of the benefice by the lay chieftains from whose family it had been supplied, or in the family of the abbot by whose direct descendants the office was filled, and who ceased after a time to take orders.” In proof of the first of these two forms of usurpations having taken place in Wales, as well as in Ireland and Scotland, Mr. Skene cites the passage from *The Itinerary* of Giraldus Cambrensis (Book II, chap. 4), in which that author describes his visit with Archbishop Baldwin to the church of Llanbadarn Fawr. “It is to be noted”, says Giraldus, “that this church, *like many others in Ireland and Wales*, has a lay abbot. For a custom has grown up, and an evil custom it is, of powerful men within a parish, who are merely designated by the clergy as ‘*œconomi*’ [house stewards], or rather as patrons and defenders of the churches, usurping to themselves, in process of time and as their greediness grows, all right, and impudently appropriating all the lands [of those churches], leaving only the altars, with their tithes and obventions, to the clergy, the priests (‘*clerici*’) themselves being their own sons and acquaintances. Such defenders, or rather destroyers of the churches, have then caused themselves to be called abbots, and a title and realty to be assigned to them which are not their due. Destitute, after such fashion,

we found this church ; a certain old man, full of evil days, Ethenoweyn, son of Wythfoit [Ednywain ap Gwaethfoed], acting as abbot, and his sons serving the altar there."

It appears, from what Giraldus says, that many of the great monastic churches of Wales, *having extensive landed possessions*, were accustomed, for the preservation of the latter, to seek the protection of powerful laymen of the district, who thus became their *patrons* ; and that these patrons, or their descendants, often appropriated to their own use the lands which they had undertaken to guard, covering sometimes their usurpation by getting themselves appointed stewards or even abbots of the monasteries. But this could only have happened in the case of what I have called "the non-tribal churches of the second class", and while those churches were still monasteries and amply endowed with land ; and could not have happened in the case of the great mass of the portionary churches—the churches of the third class—unless these latter were also themselves originally monastic and in possession of large landed estates. And even when this kind of usurpation took place, it extended only to the lands, and not to the "portions" into which the tithes and obventions were divided. So far, therefore, the conclusions expressed in the foregoing paper are not affected. But if the suspicion be well-grounded, which I have sometimes entertained—that the churches of the third class, or many of them, were themselves monasteries when they were first founded, we can now understand how they may have lost their lands, and this is why the particular form of lay usurpation just described has been here brought forward.

Mr. Skene, however, describes another form of lay usurpation—a usurpation which issued in a variety of sinecurism that has a much closer interest for us. When in Scotland and Ireland, he says, "the stringency of the monastic rule was broken in upon, under the influence of the secular clergy, marriage was gradually

permitted, the tendency towards the secular state being great in proportion to the enforced strictness of the previous system. The natural consequence was that a direct descent from the ecclesiastical persons themselves came in place of the older system of succession, and the Church offices became hereditary in their family." "It must be borne in mind", continues Mr. Skene, "that previous to 1139, though celibacy was enforced upon monks by their monastic rule, and upon the clergy generally as a matter of discipline, marriage, when it did take place, was not unlawful. It was not until the second great Council of Lateran, held in that year, declared all such marriages *ipso facto* null and void, that they became so; and the effect of this, where the benefice had become hereditary in a particular family, was, instead of restoring the former clerical character of its possessors, to stereotype their condition of laymen, and convert them into a lay family." Thus the abbots and superiors no longer took orders, but "became virtually laymen, *providing a fit person to perform the ecclesiastical functions*, but retaining the name, and all the secular privileges and emoluments of the abbacy." Mr. Skene only offers this explanation as applicable to the case of the sinecure abbacies and other high offices in the ancient tribal monasteries of Ireland and Scotland; but it is impossible to avoid inquiring whether it may not be in some way applicable to the case of the sinecure "portions" of the non-tribal churches of Wales that belonged to the third class. According to this supposition, the comportioners of the churches, married and holding their offices by hereditary right, would be, by the sudden enforcement of the law of priestly celibacy, converted into laymen, and incapacitated for performing the divine offices. But the comportioners, thus incapacitated, would merely thereupon surrender the actual performance of the priestly offices to a vicar, whose share of the parochial revenue would be determined by the general custom applicable to such cases, and would themselves retain, *as lay rector*s, the greater

part of those revenues. Or the single hereditary priest of a parish would become converted into a lay rector under the same conditions and with the same result. I do not believe, however, that this is the true explanation of the origin of the greater part, at any rate, of the portionary sinecures of mediæval North Wales, because it is certain that a very large number (in my opinion, the majority) of the sinecure comportioners were not laymen, but priests, that were elsewhere beneficed (see note, p. 176). But it is an explanation that is not impossibly applicable to *some cases* of Welsh sinecurism, and requires therefore to be here mentioned.

There are two or three other obscure points which receive some light from Mr. Skene's book, but which I do not here speak of, because in the foregoing paper I have barely touched them with my finger-tips. But whenever a competent scholar shall be induced to take in hand the task, so urgently needed to be done, of making a systematic and critical examination of the early ecclesiastical history of Wales, he will find in Mr. Skene's book a guide that will save him from many pitfalls, and a lamp that will lighten not a few dark places.

A. N. P.

CELTIC REMAINS IN VENDÔME.

(Continued from p. 138.)

THE hill of Trôo forms a sort of promontory, projecting from the line of table-land bordering the valley of the Loir on the north. Its southern slope rises abruptly from the river, upwards of 100 mètres. The ancient town on the summit of the hill was surrounded by a deep ditch and thick walls, excepting on the south, where rocks, washed by the Loir, made it inaccessible. The fortifications are of very remote antiquity, with evident traces of Romano-Gallic workmanship, though repaired and changed at divers epochs in the middle ages. Near the western gate, evidently Romano-Gallic, are the ruins of a little Church of Saint Michel. Outside the north gate rises a conical *tombelle* of an oblong shape, like almost all the monuments of this kind. It is 84 mètres in circumference, and 9 mètres in height. Another and much larger *tombelle* rises on the very crest of the southern flank of the hill, within the *enceinte*, and near its eastern extremity. It is not less than 175 m. in circumference, and 14 m. in height, above the level of the Place de l'Eglise; its original height must have been lowered by at least 4 m., for the cone has evidently been truncated, and its platform is at present 70 m. in circuit. This place, which was formerly the theatre of the bloody rites of Druidism, served for public executions as late as the sixteenth century. The two *tombelles* are exactly in a line from north to south, and tending from east to west in the greatest diameter of their elliptical bases.¹ From the summit of the *grande*

¹ In spots where there were two *tombelles*, they were generally of unequal size, and placed on the line of the meridian; the largest towards the south, and the smallest to the north. Such was their

tombelle the view extends ten or twelve leagues, comprising the elevated ground of Songé, crowned by a Roman camp, the rocks of Poncé, and the *tombelle* of La Chartre.

Trôo was anciently much larger; its population is now concentrated in the upper town, in some houses at the bottom of the hill, and especially in tiers of caves in the face of the rock. In fact, the interior of this hill is pierced in all directions by a labyrinth of galleries excavated in the rock, which, ascending, descending, intercommunicating, and intersecting, may contain in their entire a *length of many kilometres*. The popular belief extends them even to Bessé, more than a myriamètre (upwards of six miles) distant,—an evident exaggeration; but it is possible that there may have been a secret opening, at some distance, into the fields, as a means of escape in urgent peril.¹ The average width of these galleries is 2 m.; height, 1 m. 30 c.; ceilings flat, and cut without art. From distance to distance we meet with large halls, or places where several galleries meet, of a circular form: height from 2 m. to 2 m. 70 c. These halls were the places of retreat to

disposition at Amboise: “*Duas motas, unam ab aquilone, alteram à meridie erexit.*” (*Lib. de Compositione Castri Ambaziac.*) “La situation des Champs de la Motte et la Basse Motte semble indiquer qu’il en était la même à Vendôme.”

¹ We have here the facsimile, on a *larger* scale, of the crypt-towns of the East, such as those in the Crimea, so fully described by Mr. Danby Seymour in his *Travels in the Crimea*; and by Pallas, *Petra, with its Sepulchres*, etc. If our *crypt-towns* be *Celtic*, which is scarcely to be doubted after what Cæsar reports, they would seem to be worthy of a close examination by a philo-Druid, for they are the most important yet discovered, as regards extent. But what have become of the cemeteries of many generations of such a population? All the known dolmens and standing stones in Great Britain, Ireland, and Armorica, would not cover them. Speaking of “the Valley of Jehoshaphat”, in the Crimea, Mr. Seymour says that the most ancient sepulchres (for it is still the burial-place of the Kairite Jews) resemble “*long stone coffins*”. (R. P.) There are some French engravings of this *carneillon*. The dolmens and standing stones could only have been for the chiefs. But what of the *smaller* tombstones at Carnac?

which converged all the underground ways. Each has its proper name, known to the inhabitants of the country. One of these galleries ascends by a gentle slope, perfectly traceable up to the *grande tombelle*, under which it terminates very near the ground, for the roots of the trees planted on the height penetrate into it; another leads to the centre of the hill, where there is an *inexhaustible spring*. Thus, here, as at Vendôme (*supra*, p. 137), the inhabitants were insured a secret supply of water at the bottom of the underground asylum; this is now obstructed by several fallings-in of the earth, and water is procured from above. The echoes in these excavations are very remarkable, and whole phrases are repeated.

All these galleries¹ have their exits in the southern slope, where they terminate in inhabited caves. These tiers of caves lodge the greatest part of the inhabitants of Trôo; they communicate with each other by staircases cut in the rock, or by narrow and tortuous paths. These underground excavations could not have been stone-quarries, for such a quantity of materials could not have been used in the neighbourhood; neither can such vast works be attributed to the middle ages, when Trôo was of secondary importance; nor to the Romans, who had no such construction. We must, then, refer them to the remote age when Trôo was the chief place of a *Pagus*, defending by its strong position the frontier of the Cenomani. During the Prussian invasion, in 1815, the inhabitants of Trôo hid within their underground galleries their wives and their movable wealth,

¹ In low and level countries, without stone, these galleries are worked in the soil. The subterranean works of La Celette, in the Département du Cher, are cut in a bed of marl, and are without any traces of masonry; only partially cleared out, so that their extent is not known. It appears that an ancient cemetery covers the "souterrain", as there are traces of ancient sepulchres dug in the marl at a depth of 40 or 50 c. The entrance and two air-shafts opened into it. La Celette is about 15 ft. below the surface. The subterranean works in Kent are *much* deeper, according to *The West Kent Almanac*, the only authority come-at-able since Camden.

and the foreign soldiers who occupied the village did not dare to penetrate them.

Baraillon, in his *Recherches sur les Monuments Celtiques* (pp. 308, 309), describes a locality so like Trôo as to explain and confirm the above observations. This also is an isolated hill in the Limousin, commanding a vast extent of country, defended anciently by a triple enceinte, and covered with Gallic and Roman remains. The interior of this mountain is hollowed and mined in every direction, and on striking the ground a cavernous sound is emitted, everywhere indicating excavations underground. This place, anciently a considerable town, is now a poor hamlet, bearing the name of Toull, signifying, in the *patois* of the country, a hole, a deep cavity. It is in Limousin. The ancient charters of the middle ages designate Trôo by the name of "Trauga" or "Trugus", which in Low Latinity have the same signification. The present name is simply our word *trou*, in allusion to the caves.

After Trôo, the most important Celtic locality is the hill of Lavardin, which seems to have been the site of a rich college of Druids.

On the road from Montoir to Lavardin, on the right bank of the Loir, is the valley of St. Eloi, or the Recuisages, whose rivulet falls in cascades, and whose banks are bordered by rocks, which throughout, as far as Lavardin, are more or less excavated, and present grotts strikingly like those of Le Breuil, near Thoré. This range, very declivitous, covered with brambles and "buskets", is of very difficult access; thus these curious grotts are scarcely known to the inhabitants of the country, and to this they owe their remaining almost intact. They all open on the same line, at about two-thirds of the total height of the hill.

The first we met with has been partly destroyed by a quarry. In the upper part is a sinuous passage which leads to an inner recess or dungeon, 5 m. long by 1 m. 70 c., wide; in the floor is an oblong hole, 1 m.

85 c. long, by 75 c. broad, and 20 c. deep. We have already expressed, in the description of the rocks of Le Breuil, our conjectures on the purpose of these holes (*supra*, p. 131), which we find in every cave of the same description. Grooves cut in the rock indicate that this dungeon was closed; it communicates with a little hall lighted by a rather large arched opening. In the lower story, a sort of pit or *oubliette*, and a little polygonal dungeon, about 2 m. in circumference. The door is very low, and the inner vaulting scarcely 1 m. 60 c. high.

The next cave, which we shall call l'Ermitage, is complete. After ascending some broken steps we enter by a broad arch into a large hall, about 5 m. square, height, 3 m. Near the archway is a fireplace like that at Le Breuil, with an outlet for the smoke, and on the other side of the hearth an arched window. At the bottom of the hall, on the right, is a sort of passage, 2 m. long, and lighted by some irregular openings. On the left opens an archway, 2 m. 30 c. wide, where a groove and some deep jagging in the rock indicate the place of a door with iron hinges. It is the entrance to a dungeon, 4 m. 50 c. broad by 3 m. deep, where we see a stone altar. This dungeon communicates by a narrower opening with a small room, almost circular, and 7 m. in circumference. A stone bench runs round it, and through a "*fenêtre qui s'arrondit gracieusement en centre*" there is a fine view of the valley of the Loir. This cave combines all the characteristics of a *Druidical sanctuary*, inhabited, at a later period, by a Christian hermit.

The third, and smaller cave, is composed of a hall lighted by an outer archway, and having at the bottom a dungeon or recess, once hermetically closed, as appears from the groove cut in the rock at its entrance; the dungeon, with its groove, is an indispensable accessory which is not wanting in any one of these caves. In the hall we find a circular hole, 1 m. 30 c. deep, and 70 c. in diameter; a channel, hollowed in the soil,

admitted a stone cover 1 m. in breadth. We have already expressed the opinion that these holes, in the form of a bucket, were destined to receive the *blood of the victims*. Let us add that *in the walls of all these caves have been placed niches, which retain the notches cut to support shelves, as in a clothes-press*. In short, we perceive a *great number of holes*, which appear to have been hollowed out in order to fix ironwork; they are, especially, very numerous in the *inner dungeons or recesses*.

This group is separated by about 200 paces from another which occupies the centre of the range of hills, and which presents to the explorer, by their grandeur and mysterious combinations, a new subject of admiration and surprise. First, a majestic arch shows itself half concealed by bushes and briars. It leads into a large hall, 9 m. long, 6 m. deep, and 3 m. high. On the right is a prison-chamber, 5 m. by 4 m., *where is a hole in the floor* similar to that in the third cave. On the left opens a wide passage, 4 m. wide and 6 m. long, lighted by three archways, giving it the aspect of an elegant portico. This passage rises gradually with a curve to the mouth of a sort of *soupirail*, through which the body of a man might pass, and which winding obliquely into the interior of the rock, attains the upper story, where it communicates with a little grot by which we may come out on the top of the hill.

After this cave, which exceeds in size and picturesque beauty all the others, we find a series of caves resembling *square cellules*. The last alone is somewhat larger, a hall 6 m. square, deeply sunk in the rock; it receives light and air only by means of two passages, 4 m. in length. At the bottom is a *reduit* in which we recognise the remains of a staircase which must have led to the upper story. But what is most curious in it is two *soupiraux*, pierced horizontally in the thickness of the rock which separates the two passages. These holes, extending 2 m. to 3 m., are

elliptical, 50 c. high and 30 c. wide. It must have been very difficult to perforate so regularly these long holes through a very hard rock. Was their object to ventilate the interior of the cave? Or ought we not rather to regard them as gigantic speaking-trumpets, by which the arch-Druid, of whom this hall would seem to have been the residence, communicated his oracles to the exterior?

Midway below these caves is a tiny spring, known as the fountain of Auduée. Though not under the protection of any saint, a belief is still entertained in the virtue of its waters for the cure of certain diseases. Nothing, therefore, is wanting here to complete the *ensemble* of a Druidical sanctuary: on one side, the grand cave serving as temple, with its rude porch, its secret recesses, its bloody hole; on the other the Druidical cells and the arch-Druid's cave, whose mysterious arrangements were calculated to inspire terror and respect. In the centre the sacred spring, whose beneficent virtues still retain faithful believers, whilst the temple and its gloomy rites have been for twenty centuries abandoned and execrated.

There is still a long distance to be traversed ere arriving at the last cave, the only one known and commonly visited, because it is more easy of access than the others, and because it borders on the village of Lavarelois, or at least that part of it which is composed of dwellings hollowed in the hill. It is called the "Grotte des Vierges", of the origin of which name there are different versions in the traditions of the country. Some pretend that it served as an asylum for the maids of honour of the queen of Charles VII during the siege of Mans. At this conjecture the author himself smiles.

This name of Grotte des Vierges, like those of the Grotte des Fées ou des Sybils, is frequently applied to ancient Gallic localities which appear to have served as residences for the priestesses of the Druidical religion. Not less venerated than the Druids themselves, these

priestesses or *fées* formed, like them, a sort of monastic communities, called by the Romans "Colleges", and bound themselves by vows of chastity, which could not be broken but under certain circumstances regulated by the religious law. Clad in a black robe and with dishevelled hair, they joined in the lugubrious ceremonies of human sacrifices, and themselves performed the barbarous rites.

This "Grotte des Vierges" has unquestionably been the abode of a college of Druidesses. It consists of two stories. The upper story is reached by a staircase of fourteen steps, round, vaulted, and cut in the rock. The steps are 1 m. 20 c. wide, and 20 c. high. The stair leads to a first hall, 6 m. by 4 m., lighted by a circular arched window, near which is a hearth, and in the floor is a hole similar to those whose dimensions we have given before. Thence we ascend again two steps, and enter by an archway, 60 c. wide, into a large hall, not less than 10 m. long by 6 m. deep. This hall is lighted by two openings, one merely a narrow *soupirail*, the other 1 m. 50 c. wide. As usual, a fireplace is set between the two openings. At the bottom of the hall is a gloomy chamber, 5 m. by 3 m., in which an altar has been erected; deep grooves at the entrance of this chamber and of the hall establish the existence of ancient fastenings. This dark chamber is separated from the rest of the cave by an excavation 2 m. wide, in which has been cut a staircase of fourteen steps, terminating in the lower story. This chasm was crossed by a wooden bridge, whose planks rested on two *scotches hollowed* in the rock, and still visible. In short, at the end of the great hall, opposite the entrance, opens a winding passage of 7 m. in length by 3 m. in width, where the light penetrates freely through two arches in form of a portico. The lower story appears to have been used solely as a habitation; it is composed of a vast hall, 7 m. by 8 m., which receives light by a single opening, and of a smaller room *en retour*. It is to be observed that this story was only reached

by the staircase communicating with the upper hall. There was, then, a system of isolation and cloister-life perfectly in accordance with the idea which may be formed of an asylum inhabited by holy virgins.

If we reflect on the mysterious singularities of these sombre dwelling-places, we cannot but be struck by the similarity of their interior arrangements both at Lavardin and at Le Breuil. We everywhere find the Great Hall and its fireplace between two outer openings, the circular hole, the dark prison-chamber with traces of groovings and hinges to support massive doors, and the well-lighted passage seeming to lead to some secret outlet. The rigorous laws of a *hieratic destination* can alone explain the uniformity of size and measures, and the constant recurrence of this plan, which could at no time be appropriated to the ordinary usages of life. A single cave of this kind might leave doubts, but in contemplating this *ensemble*, hitherto unknown, of monuments perfectly preserved, it seems impossible to avoid the conviction, at which we have ourselves arrived, that we here see traces of the Druids, their bloody sacrifices, and their gloomy rites. These are evidently the dwellings of the fanatic priests and inspired women depicted by Tacitus and Pliny, and of whom the fairy tales have preserved, in the simplicity of popular impressions, vague and frightful reminiscences.

Let us observe also that the dimensions of the grand dolmens are in general 5 m. by 3 m., and that this is also the measure of the interior retreats or prison-chambers of the Druidical caves. These caves were, then, the primitive temples of the Druid religion. In the plains an attempt was made to reproduce, at least their image, by constructing, with enormous stones, dolmens and cromlechs, which were but the representation of the great sanctuaries of the hills.

Many of the caves are in the way of being worked out as quarries.

At about three kilomètres beyond Lavardin, in

ascending the right bank of the Loir, is the singular village of Les Roches. A wall of rock rises perpendicularly on the bank of the river, and closes the fine plain of Montoir by a defile a few paces wide. There, as at Trôo, Chartres, etc., almost the entire population has hollowed out dwellings in the sides of the rock, which is honeycombed throughout, high and low. Frequently the roof of these human burrows falls in; but no one is alarmed. Should a mass of rock slip, on the slope of the hill, as soon as it appears to be settled on its base, it is hollowed out and occupied as a house. In the middle ages the space between the hill and the river was closed at each end by a ditch and a wall flanked with towers. These ramparts exist still at the east, but at the west the remains are scanty. An ancient bridge, straitened by the massive walls of an old fortified gateway, carries across the river the road from Vendôme to Montoir. Outside the fortifications, towards the east, is a very picturesque clump of rocks and ruins, called Les Châteaux de Saint-Gervais. Here, according to all appearances, existed the grottoes of the Druids, apart from the dwellings of the people.

Between Les Roches and Le Breuil, in the plain watered by the brook Lunay, have been found stone coffins in form of troughs, and bronze ornaments of antique workmanship.

La Chartre is a little town on the Loir, between that river and a lofty hill. On the top of this hill are two *tombelles* of unequal size, corresponding with those of Trôo, and to which we cannot assign an origin less ancient; although some perceive in them fortifications of the middle ages, of which they possess neither the form nor the aspect. La Chartre seems to have been a principal *oppidum*. The river, as at Vendôme, runs between numerous islets, united by very ancient bridges.

The author speaks of Celtic medals found at Poncé, and of which he possesses one in silver. It is of very small size, and very barbarous execution. On the

obverse is a human head, and on the reverse a horse with the bill of a bird. It possesses all the characteristics of Armorican coinage. Others of the same type, but a little better execution, have been dug up not far from here, at the Château of La Flotte. M. Cottereau, at Vendôme, possesses some gold coins, found in the neighbourhood of Ternay, bearing on the right the head of Apollo, and on the reverse a chariot drawn by a horse with a human head, trampling a man under his feet,—a type which belongs especially to Armorica.

Extracts from a Supplementary Notice.

The Dolmen of Le Breuil is very remarkable on account of its position in a sort of peninsula on the left bank of the Loir, in the midst of marshy meadows. The enormous stones which compose it must have been brought from a great distance, and with infinite trouble, over a spongy soil. It is a *horizontal dolmen* of large dimensions. The table-stone was 5 m. long, 3 m. broad, and 70 c. thick. It rested on five supporters. It is in part broken, and the fragments are scattered around. On the most considerable appears the *basin destined to receive the blood*. Generally, in the fractured dolmens, this part seems to have been broken the first. This dolmen appears to have been surrounded by a *cromlech*, or circle of upright stones, some of which are still standing.

The Dolmen of Langot is on the right bank of, and not far from, the Loire, near the road from St. Hilaire-la-Gravelle. It is *inclined*, and small, but in perfect preservation. The platform, on four supports, is 3 m. long by 2 m. broad; inclination very great; and the groove forms a sort of cascade from the upper end down to the basin. This monument is perfectly visible from the road to Tours.

In the account of the Druidical caves, p. 39 of the *Histoire* ("Les Châteaux de St. Gervais"), it is said that on a more attentive investigation of the caves inhabited by the peasants, arrangements were discoverable perfectly resembling those of the caves at Lavardin and Le Breuil. On the crest of the hill is a *tombelle* which corresponds to those at Trôo and Lavardin. There is also a *tombelle* at Lavardin, forgotten in describing the curious rocks there. It rises on the crest of the hill nearly over the Grotte des Vierges, and on the outer bank of the ditch of the

Châteaux. One of the caves of St. Gervais has been converted into a chapel of the middle ages. Its primitive arrangement was like that of the cave called by the writer "La Caverne du Grand Prêtre", at Lavardin; but a falling-in has destroyed the interior. Sometimes it is called "Le Boisdan", ("Boscus Damnatus"), reminding us of the infernal worship there.

Not far from these, in the commune of Thoré, opposite the "Grots" of Breuil, in a place called "Les Châteaux", where are some old ruins of unknown origin, said to be haunted by fairies, some diggings made in the rock, in order to clear the entrance into a cave, brought to light three pits (*puits*) in the form of reversed cones or funnels. Their sides, cut in the rock, are perfectly smooth. Their diameter is 2 m. at the base, and 1 m. at the upper opening. On clearing them out, bones and ashes were discovered. The author noticed a pit of this kind in the caves of St. Gervais; and the circular holes found in those of Lavardin and Le Breuil would, perhaps, offer the same form in their interior were they cleared out. These oubliettes may have been destined to confine the victims devoted to human sacrifices, or to receive their remains. A considerable number of similar pits has been recently discovered in the rocks of the Department of La Dordogne. At the bottom were bones, and in the sides stone rings to attach the captives.¹

The Loire bathes the foot of the rising ground on which was erected the fortress of Vindocinum (Vendôme); but at this spot it is divided into numerous branches, forming an archipelago of small islands, low and marshy. On the most elevated of these islets, and the largest, in the centre of the marsh, were constructed the houses of wood and earth which formed the Gallic hamlet, wherein dwelt the clients and the serfs, whilst the nobles and warriors inhabited the citadel. It is now occupied by the quarter extending from the Church of St. Martin to that of St. Pierre

¹ In the caves of the Kaurân a particular *chamber* was appropriated to the storing away of corn and food generally. They appear to have contained "*chambers for religious meetings*". There are striking analogies between these caves in the East, and those in the West. The question as to Druidical temples and places of religious worship is *most* important. It is scarcely presumable that the Celts were thus shut up without provision for religious worship. What are the grounds for believing that some of these chambers and caves were appropriated to that purpose? We should not forget, in all these inquiries, that the Celts of central Gaul appear to have been *much* more advanced in civilisation than their Armorican and Belgian *compères* at the time of the Roman invasion. (See *Bulletin de la Société Géographique de la France*, January 1856.)

la Motte, and is the only part of the town above water in the highest inundations.

Placed between the two great capitals of the Carnutes and the Turones, Vendôme must then have been of some importance as a place of passage. The different arms of the river were crossed from islet to islet by fords or bridges, called "Les Ponts Chartrains" ("Pontes Carnotenses"). Nothing is more common in our central provinces, on ancient Roman or Gallic roads, than to meet with long and narrow causeways, intersected by a series of little bridges, over marshes or rivers, at places where islands intersecting their course rendered the passage more easy.

The origin of these constructions is generally unknown, and if we follow, traditionally, the traces of their existence, we shall arrive at the Celtic era. These bridges were kept up at the cost of the cities, who received tolls there,—an important branch of the public revenues. Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico*, lib. i) attributes the credit which Dumnorix enjoyed in the city of Autun to the riches which he had acquired by obtaining a general concession to farm all the tolls. The city of the Carnutes maintained similar bridges at all the extremities of its territories on the great roads of communication. A "Pont Chartrain" is found at Vendôme; another beyond Orléans, on the road to Sens. At Blois is a causeway, extending more than a kilomètre in length, across the marsh formed by the river Cosson, on the left bank of the Loire. On the side of Dreux, on the road to Paris, the village of Pontchartrain indicates by its name the existence of a similar way, always near the limits of the city territory.

Besides these national means of communication there existed secondary ones, maintained by each locality, for commercial intercourse. The bridges were placed under the special protection of the god presiding over commerce. These were called by the Romans "Pontes Mercurii"; and after the introduction of Christianity adopted generally the name of "Bridges of St. Michael" ("Ponts St. Michel"), for the resemblance of their effigies caused the name of the Archangel to be substituted for that of the winged messenger of Jupiter.¹ At Blois a long causeway, in ruins, known by the name of "Pont St. Michel", traverses the marsh on the left bank of the Loire, parallel with the Ponts Chartrains. Paris had also its Pont St. Michel, beside the principal communication (the great and the little bridge), between the two banks of the Seine. At Vendôme the line of

¹ One of the most remarkable remnants of these ancient consecrations to Mercury subsists in the name of the village of "Mont St. Michel, Mont Mercure", in the Department of La Vendée. (La Saussaye, *Origines de Blois*.)

the Ponts St. Michel commenced, like those of the Ponts Chartrains, at the issue of the gorge of the Faubourg St. Lubin, tending towards the north-west; passing over an artificial mound of earth constructed in order to raise the ground whereon was subsequently erected the Church of St. Pierre la Motte, which derived its name from it.

Speaking of the commune of Naveil (from the Latin *navis*, because the Loire was here crossed by means of a ferry, where there is now a bridge leading to the church), it is said that during the Gallic era a numerous population must have inhabited the rocks of Montrieux. Opposite these rocks, in the plain where is now the Church of Naveil, were found some Gallic sepulchres of stone, in the form of troughs, with coins and ornaments in bronze.¹

Extract from Yellow Note-Book, p. 23, "Anjou et ses Monuments", by MM. Godard Faultier and P. Hawke. Angers, 1839.

The *tombelles* in Anjou vary from 15 to 24 m. in height. There are two at Doué, two at Viliers, two in the neighbourhood of Montreuil-Bellay. It is remarkable that they are near small towns. In the arrondissement of Beaupreau, Monfaucon formerly possessed *three*, forming a triangle; *two* are destroyed.

There is a well authenticated historical proof that two *tombelles* at least, in Anjou, were set up as "heaps of witness" to mark territorial boundaries, but not prior to the Roman conquest.

¹ "In the prolongation of this range towards the east, at the "Tertre de Huchepie", the construction of some earthworks laid open a Gallic sepulchral cave filled in by a slip. In it were found some bones, a sabre with a very wide blade, some Celtic stone axes, and in a *niche hollowed out in the rock*, a *lamp* of coarse pottery, but of an elegant and not common form.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN MONMOUTH-SHIRE.

I. CAERLEON AND CAERWENT.

THE coins of the Romans which have been found in the neighbourhood of Caerleon and Caerwent extend over almost the whole period of their occupation of this island, and tend to prove that the Second Legion was not withdrawn from this district till the final departure of the conquerors took place. It is a remarkable fact that no coins of the Emperor Diocletian occur in this locality, and the only one which bears his name is described by Mr. Lee as "evidently a forgery of Carausius, for it not only bears the titles AVGGG, acknowledging him as joint Emperor, but it is evidently of his peculiar fabric." On the other hand, considerable numbers of the coins of Carausius have been discovered; and the same fact holds good in the neighbouring district of the Forest of Dean, where large numbers of Roman coins have been found. Probably the usurper had his headquarters at Caerleon, and knew that the Second Legion was to be relied upon for his protection, though it is somewhat difficult to account for the absence of any of the coins of Diocletian, which must have been in circulation before Carausius commenced his rebellion; and it would appear probable that he actually recalled the money issued from the Roman mint, lest its influence should weaken his self-assumed authority.

The following list is compiled almost entirely from Mr. Lee's catalogue in *Isca Silurum*; for though large numbers of coins have been found in this district during past years, no other record of them has been kept, and they are now dispersed far and near. A few years ago the land within the walls of Caerwent was a

very storehouse of such relics, and few cottages were without some specimens which had been unearthed by their owners. Most of these were third brass coins of the later Emperors, particularly those of the Constantine series; and amongst those in my possession are some good specimens of most of the Emperors from Constantius to Arcadius. Mr. Till of Ty Mawr Farm, Caerwent, has a large number of silver and brass coins which have been found on his own and neighbouring farms, and amongst them there are coins of most of the Emperors in the following list, and some good specimens of Carausius and Allectus, one of the former being a new type.

M. BAGNALL-OAKELEY.

Roman Coins found at Caerwent, and described in "Isca Silurum":

	Silver.	Brass			Tot.
		I.	II.	III.	
Hadrianus	1				1
Antoninus Pius	1				1
Sept. Severus	1				1
M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla). This is a large silver coin	1				1
M. Aurelius Antoninus (Elagabalus)	1				1
Julia Mæsa	1				1
Julia Mammæa. Plated	1				1
Alex. Severus	2				2
Gordianus	3				3
Philippus Sen.	4				4
Philippus Jun.	1				1
Marcia Otacillia	2				2
Trajanus Decius	1				1
Herennia Etrucilla	3				3
Trebonius Gallus	1				1
Volusianus	1				1
Æmillianus	1				1
Valerianus Sen.	3				3
Valerianus Jun.	2				2
Gallienus	2			3	5
Salonina	3				3
Postumus				1	1
Tetricus Sen.				1	1
Claudius Got.				2	2
Carausius				4	4
Allectus				3	3

	Gold.	Silver.	I.	Brass II.	III.	Tot.
Constantinus					1	1
Crispus					1	1
Constans				2	3	5
Constantinus Jun.			1		4	5
Magnentius				1		1
Julianus			1			1
Helena					1	1
Valentinianus Sen.					1	1

Coins found at Caerleon.

Claudius			1			1
Nero	1					1
Vespasianus. Three are plated coins		9			9	18
Titus		1		2		3
Domitianus		1		3		4
Nerva. Plated		1	2			3
Trajanus		4	4	7		15
Hadrianus. The 1st brass is probably a medallion	1	2	6	2		11
Antoninus Pius	1	5	2	10		18
Faustina Sen.		1				1
M. Aurelius		1	3			4
Faustina Jun.		1	2	3		6
Lucius Verus				2		2
Lucilla			2			2
Commodus		2	2			4
Sept. Severus. Two are plated	10	1				11
Julia		3			1	4
M. Aurelius (Caracalla). One base silver		8				8
Macrinus		1				1
Julia Soæmias		1				1
Alex. Severus. One silver of large size		2	2		1	5
Gordianus		1	2			3
Philippus Sen.		1	1			2
Philippus Jun. Base metal		1				1
Gallienus		1				1
Salonina. One base metal		2			1	3
Postumus. Base metal		1			3	4
Victorinus					2	2
Tetricus Sen.					8	8
Tetricus Jun.					3	3
Claudius Got.					8	8
Quentillus. Base metal		1				1
Probus					1	1
Dioclesianus. Evidently a forgery of Carausius					1	1
Maximianus				2		2
Carausius. One fine silver, one plated		2			15	17

		Gold.	Silver.	Brass			Tot.
				I.	II.	III.	
Allectus	.	.	.	.	.	5	5
G. Maximianus.	Both plated	.	2	3	.	.	5
Licinius	.	.	.	.	.	4	4
Constantius	.	.	.	.	1	.	1
Constantinus	.	.	.	.	.	33	33
Crispus	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Helena .	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Fausta .	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Constantinus Jun.	.	.	.	.	.	4	4
Constans	.	.	.	.	.	11	11
Constantius	.	.	.	.	.	9	9
Magnentius	.	.	.	.	5	9	14
Decentius	.	.	.	.	2	1	3
Valentinianus Sen.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Valens .	.	.	.	.	.	6	6
Gratianus	.	.	.	1	.	1	2
Arcadius	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Constantinapolis	.	.	.	.	.	7	7
Urbs Roma	.	.	.	.	.	13	13

A larger number of Roman coins were found in a quarry called "Wentwood Mill", in 1860; but, unfortunately, the pot which contained them was filled with water, and the coins were in a very bad condition. They are all of the metal called billon, and were coined to represent silver denarii, though some of them are of the lowest standard, and might almost be mistaken for third brass. The whole hoard contained about 1,300 or 1,400 coins, and of these 53 have been described by Mr. Lee. They are of the following reigns:--Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Postumus, Victorinus, the Tetrici, Tacitus, and Carausius. Of this usurper there are 4 coins.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS,

PATENT ROLLS, CHARLES II.

(Continued from p. 144.)

- Carpendar, William, clk., M.A., rector of Llangellor, co. Carmarthen. Westm., 27 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, No. 189.)
- Carpenter, Henry, clk., Canon or Prebendary of Windsor, *vice* George Hall, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop of Chester. Westm., 14 May. (14 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 28 ; p. 26, No. 3.)
- „ William, clk., rector of Stainton-super-Wye, Hereford dioc., *vice* Roger Braiton, deceased. Westm., 7 Jan. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 19.)
- Carter, John, S.T.B., Archdeacon of Chester. Westm., 19 Oct. (12 Chas. II, p. 2, No. 94 ; p. 4, No. 43.)
- Chamberlaine, Edward, clk., rector of Machenlith, *alias* Maghuntley, co. Montgomery. Westm., 12 Oct. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 111.)
- Clarke, James, clk., B.A., rector of Fittes, co. Salop. Westm., 10 May. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 234.)
- Cleaveland, William, rector of Oldbury, co. Salop, Hereford dioc., *vice* Jeffcott, resigned. Westm., 10 Aug. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 167.)
- Clutterbuck (Clutterbucke), clk., rector of Llandrillo in Idermon, co. Merioneth, *vice* John Taylor ceded. Westm., 11 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, No. 122.)
- Coke, William, clk., M.A., presentation to the first part or portion of the prebend or rectory of Bromyard, co. and dioc. of Hereford, *vice* John Cooke, clk., M.A., resigned. Westm., 15 March. (16 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 3.)
- Collins, John, clk., rector of Killyman Llwyd, co. Carmarthen. Westm., 11 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 292.)
- Comynes (Comyns), Christopher, clk., M.A., vicar of Presse, Lichfield and Coventry dioc., *vice* James Fleetwood, S.T.P., resigned. Westm., 24 Oct. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 97.)
- Conant, John, S.T.P., rector of Exeter College, Oxford ; rector of Abergelly, co. Denbigh. Westm., 4 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 107.)
- Cooke, Thomas, clk., Archdeacon of Salop. Westm., 7 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 103 ; p. 19, No. 52.)
- Cragg (Cragge), John, clk., M.A., rector of Wolves Newton, co. Monmouth. Westm., 29 Nov. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 49.)
- Creed (Creede), William, clk., S.T.B., Prebendary or Canon of Llan-nemch, with the corrody of Llangadock, in the collegiate

- church of Brecon, St. David's dioc. Westm., 20 July.
(12 Charles II, p. 19, Nos. 131A, 132.)
- Cressett, James, clk., M.A., rector of Llandrillo, co. Denbigh, St. Asaph dioc., *vice* Timothy Baldwyn, LL.D., ceded.
Westm., 18 June. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 443.)
- Davies, Athanasius, clk., rector of St. Lythau, co. Glamorgan.
Westm., 4 Sept. (12 Charles II, p. 1, No. 201.)
- " Edward, clk., Prebendary or Canon of Warthacoume in
Llandaff Cathedral, *vice* Dr. Chafine deceased. Westm.,
24 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 174, 175.)
- " Francis, S.T.B., Archdeacon of Llandaffe, co. Glamorgan.
Westm., 6 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 104; p. 19,
No. 53.)
- " John, clk., rector of Newborough, Bangor dioc. Westm.,
17 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 386.)
- " Randolph, clk., vicar of Myvod, co. Montgomery. Westm.,
25 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 222.)
- Davis, John, clk., vicar of Llandeway Rutherford, co. Monmouth,
Llandaff dioc. Westm., 20 Feb. (13 Chas. II, p. 47,
No. 86.)
- Deare, Thomas, B.A., rector of St. Juliett's, co. Glamorgan. Westm.,
6 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 303.)
- Delahay, John, clk., vicar of Cloddock, co. Hereford, St. David's
dioc., *vice* Morgan Delahay, his father, deceased. Westm.,
9 Dec. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 116.)
- Dolben, John, M.A., Canon or Prebendary of Oxford, *vice* Robert
Paine, S.T.P., deceased. Westm., 9 July. (12 Chas. II,
p. 3, No. 135; p. 19, No. 164.)
- " John, S.T.P., rector of Newington-cum-Britwell, Canterbury
dioc., *vice* Gilbert Sheldon, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop
of London. Westm., 5 Nov. (12 Charles II, p. 1, No.
79.)
- " John, S.T.P., one of the chaplains in ordinary to the King,
Dean of Westminster, void by the promotion of the last
Dean to the bishopric of Worcester. Westm., 2 Dec.
(14 Chas. II, p. 2, No. 30; p. 19, No. 14.)
- Draycott, John, clk., M.A., rector of Llandeniolin, Bangor dioc.
Westm., 22 June. (17 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 62.)
- Du Moulin, Peter, S.T.P., rector of Llanrhayader in Kenmeath, co.
Denbigh, Bangor dioc., *vice* Peter du Moulin, deceased.
Westm., 28 June. (12 Charles II, p. 3, No. 173.)
- " Prebendary or Canon of Canterbury, *vice* Peter du
Moulin, S.T.P., deceased. Westm., 29 June. (12 Chas. II,
p. 3, No. 158; p. 19, No. 179.)
- Eaton, Owen, clk., rector of Corwen, co. Merioneth. Westm., 20
June. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 440.)
- Edward, Samuel, M.A., rector of Poole Chroham, co. Pembroke, *vice*
... Smart, deceased. Westm., 25 Aug. (12 Chas. II,
p. 1, No. 251.)

- Edwards, Samuel, clk., Canon or Prebendary of Llangan, co. Pembroke, in St. David's Cathedral, *vice* Henry Griffith deceased. 12 and [17] Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 125, 126.)
- Elles (Ellis), John, clk., rector of Wolvesnewton, *alias* Villa Novi Lupi, co. Monmouth, Llandaff dioc. Oxford, 20 Oct. (17 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 40.)
- " John, clk., M.A., Precentor of St. David's Cathedral, *vice* William Thomas, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop of St. David's. Westm., 14 March. (30 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 26.)
- " Thomas, clk., S.T.P., rector of Dolgelly, co. Merioneth, Bangor dioc. Oxford, 15 Jan. (17 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 25.)
- Evance, Cornelius, clk., presentation to the second portion or left part of the rectory of Westbury, co. Salop, Lichfield and Coventry dioc., *vice* Thomas Mall deceased. Westm., 11 May. (17 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 69.)
- Evans, John, rector of Llanmerewigg, co. Montgomery. Westm., 24 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 255.)
- " Michael, S.T.P., Prebendary or Canon of Llangynllo, in the collegiate church of Brecon, St. David's dioc., *vice* Stall deceased. Westm., 6 and 12 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 103, 104.)
- " Walter, clk., Prebendary or Canon of Llandissillio, in the collegiate church of Brecon [co. Carmarthen],¹ St. David's dioc. Westm., 4 Oct. (12 Charles II, p. 4, No. 49.)
- Eyton, David, clk., rector of Bottrwy, co. Flint. Westm., 16 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 279.)
- " Owen, clk., vicar of Corwen, co. Merioneth. Westm., 30 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 215.)
- Feild, Playfer, clk., vicar of Caerwent, co. Monmouth. Westm., 17 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 273.)
- Feilding, John, clk., Canon Residentiary of Salisbury, *vice* Wm. Lloyd, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop of St. Asaph. Westm., 6 Oct. (32 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 9.)
- Fenton, Ralph, rector of Ludlow, co. Salop, Hereford dioc. Westm., 4 Nov. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 131.)
- Fowkes, John, clk., rector of Llangadfan, co. Montgomery. Westm., 17 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 388.)
- Fowlkes, John, clk., rector of Llanymowthwy, co. Merioneth. Westm., 6 Aug. (12 Charles II, p. 1, No. 302.)
- Freeman, Thomas, clk., rector of Hubberston and Johnston, with the vicarage of Staynton, co. Pembroke, *vice* ... Baleham ceded. Westm., 25 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 136.)
- Gamage, Edward, clk., M.A., Archdeacon of Llandaff, *vice* Francis Davies, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop of Llandaff. Westm., 3 Dec. (19 Chas. II, p. 5, No. 23.)
- " Nathaniel, clk., vicar of Newcastle, co. Glamorgan. Westm., 20 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 369.)

¹ *Sic.*

- Gittins, Thomas, clk., vicar of Lapington, co. Salop. Westm., 5 Sept. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 157.)
- Glemham, Henry, S.T.P., Dean of Bristol, *vice* Mathew Nicholas, S.T.P., promoted to be Dean of St. Paul's, London. Westm., 19 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 15 ; p. 19, No. 118.)
- Godwin (Godwyn), Thomas, clk., Prebendary or Canon of Prato Majore in Hereford Cathedral. Westm., 10 Oct. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 44, 45.)
- Good, Thomas, Prebendary or Canon of Bishops in Hereford Cathedral. Westm., 17 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 19, Nos. 108, 109.)
- „ Thomas, S.T.P., rector of Culmington, co. Salop. Westm., 23 Nov. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 62.)
- Griffith, Owen, clk., M.A., rector of Vaynor, co. Brecon. Westm., 23 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 336.)
- „ Owen, clk., rector of Llandevaillog, co. Brecon, St. David's dioc. Westm., 9 Sept. (14 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 173.)
- „ Silvanus, clk., vicar of Llanbyster, co. Radnor, St. David's dioc. Westm., 24 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 224.)
- Gwynn, Lewis, clk., rector of Manavon, co. Montgomery. Westm., 3 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 422.)
- Harries, Richard, clk., vicar of Egglis Er, co. Pembroke, St. David's dioc. ; *vice* Philip Bowen, clk., ceded. Westm., 17 Jan. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 90.)
- Hayward, Roger, clk., vicar of St. Chadd in the town of Shrewsbury, Lichfield and Coventry dioc. Westm., 12 Nov. (14 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 104.)
- Heylyn (Heylin), Richard, clk., Canon or Prebendary in Oxford Cathedral ; *vice* Robert Sanderson, S.T.P., promoted. Westm., 25 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 95 ; p. 2, No. 142, under date 16 Nov.)
- Hicks, George, S.T.P., Dean of Worcester ; *vice* William Thomas, Bishop of St. David's, promoted to be Bishop of Worcester. Westm., 6 Oct. (35 Chas. II, p. 2, No. 4.)
- Higgs, Daniel, clk., rector of Portynon, co. Glamorgan. Westm., 17 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 269.)
- Hilliard, Thomas, clk., rector of Newton Notage, co. Glamorgan. Westm., 6 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 195.)
- Hodges, Thomas, S.T.P., Prebendary or Canon of Huntington in Hereford Cathedral ; *vice* Herbert Crofts, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop of Hereford. Westm., 10 Feb. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 47.)
- Holland, Thomas, clk., Prebendary or Canon of Pionia Parvia in Hereford Cathedral. Westm., 5 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 143, 144.)
- Hooper, William, clk., deacon of Cleobury Mortimer, co. Salop ; *vice* Thomas Hayles, deceased. Westm., 14 Oct. (14 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 18.)

- Hoskins, John, clk., vicar of Ellesmere, co. Salop. Westm., 23 Nov. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 60.)
- Houghton, William, clk., M.A., rector of Ilston, co. Glamorgan. Westm., 23 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 366.)
- Hudson, George, clk., B.A., vicar of Baschurch, co. Salop, Lichfield and Coventry dioc. Westm., 6 Nov. (14 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 108.)
- Hughes, John, clk., rector of Darowen, co. Montgomery. Westm., 24 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 353.)
- „ William, clk., vicar of Demerchion, co. Flint, St. Asaph dioc. Westm., 8 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 180.)
- Humphreys, Humfrey, clk., S.T.P., Canon of Bangor; Dean of Bangor, with the canonry and prebend and parish churches annexed to same; *vice* William Lloyd, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop of St. Asaph. Westm., 14 Oct. (32 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 7.)
- James, David, clk., M.A., rector of Kelrhedyn, co. Pembroke, St. David's dioc. Westm., 4 July. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 188.)
- Jefferyes, Howell, clk., rector of Bedwes, with the church of Rudry annexed, cos. Monmouth and Glamorgan. Westm., 16 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 393.)
- Johnson, Martin, clk., M.A., vicar of Dylwyn, co. Heref. Westm., 20 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 361.)
- Jones, David, clk., rector of Maesmynys, co. Brecon. Westm., 6 Aug. 12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 311.)
- „ David, clk., M.A., rector of Lamereing, co. Montgomery. Westm., 7 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 274.)
- „ David, clk., M.A., vicar of Bettus Abergeley, co. Denbigh; *vice* Richard Price, deceased. Westm., 28 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 220.)
- „ Edward, clk., Prebendary or Canon of Morton-cum-Wbad-den, in Hereford Cathedral. Westm., 27 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 182, 183.)
- „ Gregory, clk., M.A., rector of Penderyn, co. Brecon. Westm., 29 June. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 424.)
- „ James, rector of Kellybebyll, co. Glamorgan. Westm., 4 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 421.)
- „ John, Prebendary or Canon of Llanall-waith, *alias* Llanellewey, pertaining to the collegiate church of Brecon, St. David's dioc.; *vice* [Isaac] Singleton, deceased. Westm., 5 Oct. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 51, 52.)
- „ Rees, clk., rector of Llanvawr, co. Merioneth. Westm., 2 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 323.)
- „ Roger, rector of Mountgomery, co. Montgomery; *vice* Dr. Coote, clk., deceased. Westm., 11 June. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 448.)
- „ Roger, clk., Prebendary or Canon of Trallenge, in the collegiate church of Brecon, St. David's dioc.: *vice*

- Brookes, deceased. Westm., 18 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 95, 96.)
- Jones, Samuel, B.A., rector of Llandegla, co. Denbigh. Westm., 30 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 299.)
- „ Thomas, clk., rector of Kevenllyce, co. Radnor. Westm., 24 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 357.)
- „ Thomas, clk., M.A., rector of Llandurnog, *alias* Llandurnack, co. Denbigh, Bangor dioc., and province of Canterbury. Oxford, 11 Nov. (17 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 37.)
- „ William, clk., M.A., Archdeacon of Caermarthen. Westm., 13 Aug. (12 Chas. II, p. 3, No. 172; p. 19, No. 181.)
- Kiffin, David, clk., vicar of Sciviog, co. Flint. Westm., 21 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 135.)
- King, Godfrey, LL.B., Archdeacon of Suffolk; *vice* Lawrence Womock, S.T.P., promoted to be Bishop of St. David's. Westm., 12 Dec. (35 Chas. II, p. 2, No. 5.)
- Langford, William, clk., rector of Kencheste, co. and dioc. of Hereford. Westm., 22 Feb. (13 Chas. II, p. 47, No. 84.)
- Lewies, Stephen, clk., Prebendary or Canon of St. Herman in the collegiate church of Brecon, St. David's dioc.; *vice* Richard, deceased. Westm., 13 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 23, 24.)
- Lewis, Edward, clk., Prebendary or Canon of Maghtred in the collegiate church of Brecon, St. David's dioc.; *vice* Dr. Vaughan, deceased. Westm., 7 Sept. (12 Chas. II, p. 4, Nos. 123, 124.)
- „ Philip, clk., vicar of Presteygne, cos. Radnor and Hereford; *vice* John Scull, clk., deceased. Westm., 24 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 2, No. 100.)
- „ Philip, M.A., rector of Presteigne, cos. Hereford and Radnor, Hereford dioc. Westm., 27 Feb. (14 Chas. II, p. 26, No. 26.)
- Llewellyn, John, clk., vicar of Stainton with the rectory of Johnston; co. Pembroke, St. David's dioc. Westm., 31 Jan. (14 Chas. II, p. 19, No. 51.)
- Lloyd (Loyde, Loyd), Charles, clk., rector of Blethvaugh, co. Radnor. Westm., 13 August. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 284.)
- „ David, clk., B.A., rector of Llanllouchayara, co. Cardigan. Westm., 16 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 1, No. 389.)
- „ David (of Ruthin in North Wales), LL.D., Dean of St. Asaph, co. Flint; *vice* Andrew Morris, deceased. Westm., 30 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 2, No. 110; p. 19, No. 75.)
- „ David, clk., M.A., vicar of Llanvaddrick, Bangor dioc. Westm., 30 Sept. (16 Chas. II, p. 19, No. $\frac{1}{35}$.)
- „ Evan, clk., rector of Gladestry, co. Radnor, St. David's dioc. Westm., 15 July. (16 Chas. II, p. 19, No. $\frac{1}{31}$.)
- „ Humfrey, clk., Canon or Prebendary of Ampleford in York Cathedral. Westm., 30 July. (12 Chas. II, p. 2, No. 131; p. 19, No. 79.)

(To be continued.)

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

SIR,—Since it is my desire always to be as accurate as possible, even small errors leading sometimes to great results, the following particulars relating to the Leeswood Bible will, I hope, correct misapprehensions which might otherwise arise.

Mr. Phillimore assures me that he has ceased to collect rare books, but that the above named work was, he believes, sold by Mr. Eaton to some one in the north of England, who sent it to be sold at Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's auction, where it was bought by Mr. Toon, a bookseller, for Mr. Phillimore, he agreeing to give in exchange a Spanish Bible which he had previously purchased from Mr. Toon.

After careful examination of the original, he has given me the following translation of the manuscript note on the twelfth verse of the fifty-third chapter of the prophet Isaiah :—

“Nen efe a wel Had Pa rai a estyn eu dyddiau ; a
 Or, He shall see seed who (plural) shall extend their days, and
 bwriad grasol Jehofah a lwydda yn ei law.
 (the) gracious purpose of Jehovah shall prosper in his hand.
 O lafur ei enaid y gwel ffrwyth ac a foddlonir.
 Of the labour of his soul he shall see fruit and shall be satisfied.
 Rhoddaf lawer ido yn rhan ar cedyrn a
 I will give many to him as a portion, and the strong (ones) shall
 rana Efe yn ysbaill.
 he divide as a spoil.

Louth.

J E.”

Mr. Lloyd Fletcher, of Nerquis, also kindly informs me that there was no connection between the families of Griffiths of Rhual and Griffiths of Ty Newydd. The latter place is situated opposite to the celebrated iron gates at Leeswood, but belongs to the Pentre Hobyn, and not to the Leeswood estate. It is, therefore, probable that the memorial inscriptions were simply placed in the Bible when in the possession of Mr. Joseph Eaton, a local antiquary, and have no reference to its ownership.

Yours truly,

H. F. J. VAUGHAN.

30, Edwardes Square, Kensington, W.
 25 June 1886.

Miscellaneous Notices.

FIND OF COINS.—A number of coins, said to be one hundred and twenty-five, has been dug up on a farm adjoining that named Monachty Gwyn, in Caernarvonshire, belonging to Mrs. Jones Parry of Aberdunant, and at a spot not far from Bwlch Derwen. Previously to this a curiously hard and black wooden pail, somewhat similar in shape to the large tin milk-pails seen on railways, having golden hoops, and a handle at the top, was dug out of the turbarry. Both of these finds were made within a mile of Monachty Gwyn. The coins would seem to have disappeared; but the man who dug up the pail has since become suddenly rich enough to purchase two cows, which would seem to furnish grounds for conjecture that coins may have been discovered by him also, together with the pail.

H. W. L.

A MONUMENTAL (P) STONE.—On a small farm near Aberdunant, named Y Fach Goch, is to be seen a curious stone having a monumental appearance. The oldest inhabitant of the hamlet of Prenteg, Sian Griffith, who attained her ninety-fifth year in June 1886, tells a tale thereanent to the effect that it was talked of as having much gold beneath it when she was a girl. It was said that whoever should dig down to get it would raise such a storm of thunder and lightning as the world has never known, and that they would wish they were dead.

H. W. L.

ANCIENT GRAVES UNDER MOEL GEST.—The same old woman by whom has been preserved the above tradition of the treasure buried beneath the stone, tells also that her grandfather often spoke of "the numbers and numbers of graves" that there were on the hill below Moel y Gest, between Morva Lodge and Tirlnontir (*sic*) Bwlch.

H. W. L.

FIND OF CARVED WOOD.—A tenant of Mrs. Jones Parry of Aberdunant, living at Voel Vodel Farm, near Porth Nigel, lately presented her with two pieces of curiously carved wood, both of which she stated had been picked up on the shore, near Bardsey Island. One has the shape of a shield, bearing a chevron charged with five ermine spots between four bulls' heads, three and one. The whole is of dark wood.

The other piece of wood is a panel, thinner and more battered than the former, and was originally painted white. Upon it is carved a mail dexter arm issuing from a wreath, with closed hand holding a branch of broom, from which depends a chain of half the

length of the arm, with a padlock engraved with a leopard's head at the end of the chain. The mail is of plate-armour, with vambrace at the elbow, above and below which is a double plate fastened by four round rivets.

For all this information the Society is indebted to Mrs. Jones Parry of Aberdunant. H. W. L.

BISHOP MORGAN'S WELSH TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.—Fuller, in his *Church History* (vol. iii, p. 459), gives the following piece of information, which we believe will be new to many of our readers, as it has been to ourselves:—

A.D. 1640.—“Towards the close of the Convocation Dr. Griffith, a clerk for some Welsh diocess (whose moderate carriage all the while was commendable), made a motion that there might be a new edition of the Welsh Church Bible, some sixty years since first translated into Welsh by the worthy endeavours of Bishop Morgan, but not without many mistakes and omissions of the printer. He insisted on two most remarkable,—a whole verse left out (Exodus xii) concerning the angel's passing over the houses besprinkled with blood, which mangleth the sense of the whole chapter; another (Habakkuk ii, 5), where that passage, ‘He is a proud man’, is wholly omitted. The matter was committed to the care of the Welsh Bishops, who, I fear, surprised with the troublesome times, effected nothing therein.”

It is curious that Bishop Parry, who revised the Bishops' translation, and takes, as he deserves, no small credit for his work, did not notice these omissions in his edition of 1620; for they are still omitted in the first portable edition, published at the expense of Sir Thomas Myddelton and Mr. Rowland Heylyn, in 1630, from which we quote the verses in question in order to show, by comparison with the Authorised Version, what exactly they were:—

BISHOP MORGAN.

Exod. xii, 13.—“A'r gwaedd fydd i chwi yn arwydd ar y tai lle byddoch chwi: ac ni bydd pla dinystriol arnoch pan darawyf dir yr Aipht.”

Habac. ii, 5.—“A hefyd gan ei fod yn troseddu trwy win ac heb aros gartref, yr hwn a helaetha ei feddwl fel uffern”...

AUTHORISED VERSION.

“A'r gwaed fydd i chwi yn arwydd ar y tai lle byddoch chwi: a phan welwyf y gwaed, yna yr af heibio i chwi; ac ni bydd pla dinystriol arnoch chwi, pan darawyf dir yr Aipht.”

“A hefyd gan ei fod yn troseddu trwy win, gwr balch yw efe ac heb aros gartref, yr hwn a helaetha ei feddwl fel uffern.”

We are not able to say how soon the omissions were supplied; but as attention was now drawn to them, we may conclude that it was done at once. The next edition we are able to lay our hands upon is dated 1678, and is correct; but there had been two others

issued in the interval, viz. in 1654 and 1671, and we shall be glad to know whether they also have the omissions supplied.

D. R. T.

WE desire to draw the attention of our members to the following important undertaking, and we trust they may be induced to give it substantial support. We can speak for the suitability and excellence of the collotypes, and the Editor's name is a guarantee for the literary character of the series; but at present we regret to say that the number of subscribers is very small.

Old Welsh Texts, edited and revised by John Rhys, M.A., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford, and illustrated with Facsimiles.—The early literatures of England, France, Germany, and Scandinavia, have been the subject of profound study and research in recent years, and the most important texts in each have been rendered accessible to students in accurate and trustworthy editions; but the early literature of Wales has hitherto been less fortunate: indeed, there is not a single text of the more important Welsh MSS. of which we possess a critical edition for the use of students on a level with the requirements of modern scholarship. It is now proposed to make a vigorous effort towards removing this reproach by issuing a series of early Welsh texts which will approximate to the original as closely as the resources of modern typography will allow, and will be adequately illustrated with facsimiles. The volumes will be printed in octavo, in the best style of the Clarendon Press, so as to compare favourably with the publications of the Early English and Early French Text Societies. Although the number of Celtic scholars in Europe is steadily increasing, and the importance of the Celtic languages for the study of comparative philology is year by year obtaining wider recognition, the promoters of the undertaking appeal not only to professed scholars, but also to the wider circle of Welshmen, and of all who care for the honour of the Cymric name, for their co-operation and support in the work of preserving from destruction, and handing down to posterity, the literary monuments of the national past.

It is intended that the series shall embrace *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, *The Book of Aneurin*, *the Book of Taliessin*, *The Red Book of Hergest*, *The Mabinogion*, and *The Triads*. The first volume of the series will be a collotype facsimile of *The Black Book of Carmarthen*. Demy 8vo, cloth gilt, 30s.; royal 8vo, cloth gilt, 52s. 6d. By the courtesy of W. R. M. Wynne, of Peniarth, Esq., the Editor is in a position to offer a facsimile of this unique MS., the oldest in the language. It is, therefore, hoped that the response to this appeal will be such as to justify him in incurring the expense of collotype, the only process by which it is found possible to produce a facsimile satisfactory in every respect. Unless three hundred subscribers will come forward, or some liberal well-wisher offer his assistance, the palæographical features of this invaluable MS., notwithstanding every precaution, and the exemplary care taken of it

by the owner, must continue to run the risks which have overtaken so many of the treasures of ancient Welsh literature. All who are willing to help in this undertaking would greatly oblige by forwarding their names at an early date, as the work can only be done in the summer months.

A colotype specimen page will be sent by Mr. J. G. Evans, 7, Clarendon Villas, Oxford, on receipt of six penny stamps.

PLAS MAWR, CONWY.—This Elizabethan mansion was built in A.D. 1576-80, by Robert Wynne, son of John Wynne of Gwydyr, and uncle of Sir John Wynne, the historian, and subsequently became the property of the Mostyn family. As the house, which has now become the home of the Royal Cambrian Academy of Arts, is one of the most unique and well preserved specimens of Elizabethan architecture in the country, and is historically connected with many of the oldest families in North Wales, it deserves to be more generally known, and to be preserved in an enduring record. With this view a monograph has been prepared by Arthur Baker and Herbert Baker, the Architects of the Academy, of 14, Warwick Gardens, Kensington, London, consisting of a descriptive and historical account, and illustrated by twenty-two plates, including views, plans, and details of every feature of interest, carefully and accurately delineated by the authors from their sketches and measurements, and reproduced in facsimile by photo-lithography.

Having seen some of the specimen illustrations, we have much pleasure in recommending Mr. Baker's proposed work. The size will be about 15 ins. by 11 ins., and the price, we believe, £1.

"LLYFR GWERNEIGRON" (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14,935).—Under the above title is given a "miscellaneous collection by Lewis Morris." The *Llyfr Gwerneigrön* itself does not form a part of the contents, only, as will be seen in folios 135-145, "an account of the authors and poems in the transcript made by W. Morris out of it, the names of men and places mentioned, and some observations by L. Morris on some words in the poems." Gwerneigrön is an old mansion in the parish of St. Asaph, and in the seventeenth century was the residence of the Conways, a branch of the family of the Conways of Bodrhyddan.

The principal contents of the MS. are as follow:—List of Welsh words omitted by Dr. Davies and Mr. Llwyd, f. 2; index of the contents of the volume called *Prif feirdd Cymreig* (Add. 14,867), f. 8; index of the contents of the volume called *Y Delyn Lledr* (Add. 14,873), f. 10b; vocabularies of *Welsh* terms, arranged under heads, with *English* explanations, f. 11; British measures, games, ancient officers of state, eponyms, etc., f. 16; letter from John Morgan to Moses Williams respecting a collection of Welsh proverbs, 13 May 1714, f. 20; catalogue of the British names of plants, out of Johnson's *Herbal*, 1663, f. 21; Welsh poem by Morgan Herbert, with his

epitaph, in *Welsh*, *Latin*, and *English*, and pedigree, f. 22; ancient Welsh paraphrase of the beginning of Genesis, f. 25; extracts from a Welsh MS. of William Jones, entitled "Casgliad didrefn", ff. 29, 34b, 42; proportion of the letters of the alphabet in English names, f. 30; history of the poetical contest between Edmund Prys, Arch-deacon of Merionethshire, and William Cynwal, poet, f. 33; Welsh poems by Aneurin, f. 35; list of authorities used in compiling a book of pedigrees at Llanerch, 1761, f. 37; list of Welsh popular melodies, with the first lines of each, contained in a MS. at Maes y Porth, f. 38; accounts of, and extracts from, Welsh MSS. in the Mostyn and Llanerch Libraries and elsewhere, containing the "Brut y Brenhinoedd", ff. 39, 43b, 46b, 50b; "A true character of the deportment of the principal gentry for these 18 years last past, within the counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan", by Colonel John Jones, f. 48; contents of Lord Powis' cabinet of fossils, etc., collected by L. Morris, f. 54; draughts of the great double microscope, f. 53b; vocabulary of words wherein the *Welsh* and *Irish* agree, and which the *Armoric* Dictionary hath not, f. 57; the *Armoric-English* Vocabulary in Llwyl's *Arch. Brit.*, compared with the *Welsh* and *Irish*, f. 73; the rivers of Wales, from Morden's maps, f. 106; copies of several ancient Latin grants of lands in Wales, f. 116; Welsh poems by Gwalchmai ab Meilyr, Kyndelw, Gwynvardd Brycheiniawg, Llywarch Prydydd y Moch, and Einiawn Waun, chiefly in the handwriting of Will. Morris, ff. 121, 127b; the ancient cities of Britain, out of Nennius, *The Triads*, etc., ff. 127, 200b, 211; Welsh poems by Meilyr Brydyt, with an *English* translation by L. Morris, f. 130; the "Hoiane neu Borchellane" of Merddin, with various readings and illustrations, f. 131; an account of the authors and poems in the transcript made by W. Morris out of the *Llyfr Gwerneigrön*, f. 135; names of men and places and people in the poems in the forementioned catalogue, f. 139; observations by L. Morris on some words in the above poems, f. 143; radicals in the Celtic, f. 145; names of the months in *Welsh*, *Cornish*, *Armoric*, and *Irish*, f. 147; Mr. Jas. Morgan's etymons of Welsh words, f. 148; the names of the British kings in Tyssilio's history, compared with Ponticus Virunnius and the three editions of Galfrid's translation, ff. 150, 160; an hypothetical history of Britain's first discovery, plantation, colonies, etc., f. 157b; portion of "A Dialogue between an English and a Cambro-Briton in Relation to the History and Antiquities of Great Britain", f. 164; notes on Galfridus compared with the Welsh copies, f. 166; vocabulary, in *Welsh*, of things that necessarily received names after the confusion of Babel, f. 169; queries upon the Welsh language by R. Morris, f. 173; "englyns" and short poems by Richard Phylips, Gruffudd Llwyl ap Davydd ap Eignion, Llywarch Hen, f. 174; letter giving an account of the burning of a Hindoo widow at Muxadabad, f. 175; ancient Welsh genealogies from various MSS., f. 177; list of English historians who agree with or differ from Geoffrey of Monmouth, or remain neuter, f. 199; remarks on the name of Bri-

tain, and names of reproach among the Britons, by L. Morris, f. 203; inquiries to be made in every parish in relation to the natural history, antiquities, etc., ff. 204, 209; copy of an *Inspecimus* from Edward I to Roger Mortimer, containing the boundaries of the lordship of Geneu'r Glyn, dat. 28 Jan. ao. 11 [1283], *Lat.*; a catalogue of the *bôds*, *trêvs*, and *caers* in Anglesey, f. 219; a panegyric on Dr. De Linden, 213; Mr. Jones of Llanegryn's etymons, in answer to Mr. Pegge's queries, 1759, f. 225. Folio. [14,935.]
